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**THE
PROGRESS OF THE NATION.**

SECTIONS V. TO VIII.

THE
PROGRESS
OF
THE NATION,
IN ITS VARIOUS
SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL RELATIONS,
FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

BY
G. R. PORTER, Esq., F.R.S.

SECTIONS V. TO VIII.

CONSUMPTION, ACCUMULATION, MORAL PROGRESS,
COLONIAL AND FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES.

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Small Number of Persons in England who live without gainful Employment—Consequent great Means for Enjoyment and for Accumulation of Capital—Unequal Division of the Products of Labour—Growing Improvement in this respect—Increase of Luxuries and Elegancies, and consequent general Refinement of Manners—Improvement in Dwellings of Middle Classes seldom extended to the Houses of Artisans and Labourers—Exception in this respect of Sheffield.

IN every community the power of consuming must be measured and controlled by the power of producing. The extraordinary degree of producing power which exists in this kingdom has been shown in the second Section of this work. Not only is the proportion of persons in the community who pass their lives in active industry, labouring with their hands or their heads, greater in this than in almost every other well-peopled country in Europe, but the amount of skilled labour performed in a given time by any given number of our countrymen is commonly greater than that accomplished by the like number of any other people in Europe. To this circumstance it is in great part owing, that, with a higher rate of daily wages paid for fewer hours of toil than are required in other countries, our manufacturers have been able, under otherwise adverse circumstances, to maintain the superiority over their rivals. Many of those rivals, both in France and in Germany, have contrived to possess themselves of

our best machines, notwithstanding the legal prohibition to their exportation; but having hitherto been unable to imbue their workmen with the degree of energy and skill by which the English artisan is distinguished, are in general unable to compete with us in any but the commonest kinds of fabrics.

The proportion of persons in the United Kingdom who pass their time without applying to any gainful occupation is quite inconsiderable. Of 5,812,276 males, twenty years of age and upwards, living at the time of the census of 1831, there were said to be engaged in some calling or profession 5,466,182, as under:—

In Agriculture	2,470,111
In Trade and Manufactures	1,888,768
In Labour, not Agricultural	698,588
In Domestic Service	132,811
As Bankers, Clergymen, Professional Men, &c.	275,904

thus leaving unemployed only 346,094, or rather less than six per cent. of the whole, which, assuming that the proportionate number at each age continued the same in 1831 that it was found to be in 1821, is not quite a quarter per cent. beyond the number living in 1831 who were 70 years of age and upwards. It is probable that this number of unemployed persons is somewhat understated, and that noblemen and gentlemen residing upon their estates, many of whom intrust to agents everything connected with business employment, are reckoned among the number of those engaged in agriculture; but if it be the case, it cannot very greatly alter the calculation.

Where so large a proportion of persons apply themselves to productive labour with so many natural and acquired advantages as are offered in this country, the sum of human enjoyment, so far as the same can be said to depend upon the possession of the necessaries, conve-

niences, and luxuries of life, must needs be very great, since the whole of what they produce beyond what is wanted to replace the capital expended in that production, must be either consumed by them or added to the capital of the country, and in this way will be made to increase the power of production in future years.

In the division among the people of the produce of the national industry, a great amount of inequality is no doubt observable,—an amount greater, perhaps, than is altogether consistent with the degree of perfection to which human institutions may at some time be brought: but there is reason to believe that, great as this inequality now is, it was in former times much greater; and that hereafter, when the accumulation of capital will probably still further than at present exceed the increase of population, the division must necessarily become more equal; the rich and powerful will in such case still have made additions to the sum of their enjoyments, but the labourers will have added in a still greater degree to their means of comfortable subsistence. Whether, in any country, and at any given time, the accumulation of capital proceeds in a quicker ratio than the increase of population, is a question hardly capable of being decided by direct proof. It has been argued, by high authorities, that there is under all circumstances a tendency in population to press upon the means of subsistence. If, however, we look back to the condition of the mass of the people as it existed in this country, even so recently as the beginning of the present century, and then look around us at the indications of greater comfort and respectability that meet us on every side, it is hardly possible to doubt that here, in England at least, the elements of social improvement have been successfully at work, and that they have been and are producing an increased amount of comfort to the great

bulk of the people. This improvement is by no means confined to those who are called, by a somewhat arbitrary distinction, the working classes, but is enjoyed in some degree or other by tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers—in short, by every class of men whose personal and family comforts admitted of material increase. Higher in the scale of society, the same cause has been productive of increase of luxury, of increased encouragement to science, literature, and the fine arts, and of additions to the elegancies of life, the indulgence in which has acted upon the condition of the less-favoured classes directly by means of the additional employment it has caused, and indirectly also by reason of the general refinement in manners which has thus been brought about.

In nothing is the improvement here mentioned more apparent than in the condition of the dwellings of the middle classes. As one instance, it is not necessary to go back much beyond half a century to arrive at the time when prosperous shopkeepers in the leading thoroughfares of London were without that now necessary article of furniture, a carpet, in their ordinary sitting-rooms: luxury in this particular seldom went further with them than a well-scoured floor strewn with sand, and the furniture of the apartments was by no means inconsistent with this primitive, and, as we should now say, comfortless, state of things. In the same houses we now see, not carpets merely, but many articles of furniture which were formerly in use only among the nobility and gentry: the walls are covered with paintings or engravings, and the apartments contain evidences that some among the inmates cultivate one or more of those elegant accomplishments which tend so delightfully to refine the minds of individuals, and to sweeten the intercourse of families.

The improvement here noticed has not hitherto been

extended in an equal degree to the dwellings of the working classes. These, especially in large towns, are still for the most part comfortless, and even unwholesome, ill furnished and ill kept, betraying a lamentable want of self-respect in their inmates, with a degree of recklessness that speaks unfavourably for their moral progress. The inquiries that have of late been made on this subject by the Manchester Statistical Society and the Central Society of Education have brought to light an amount of debasement which is truly appalling, while they have served to indicate the means through which the evil may be remedied, without even calling for any pecuniary sacrifice on the part of those who may apply themselves to the good work. It is worthy of remark, that this comfortless condition of the dwellings of the poor is not seen in all localities. In some places where no other appearances in the state of society would seem to indicate it, there is to be found an extraordinary degree of respectability in this particular. The town of Sheffield, for instance, contains a large manufacturing population, who are by no means remarkable for orderly conduct. The town itself is ill built and dirty, beyond the usual condition of English towns, but it is the custom for each family among the labouring population to occupy a separate dwelling, the rooms in which are furnished in a very comfortable manner, the floors are carpeted, and the tables are usually of mahogany; chests of drawers of the same material are commonly seen, and so in most cases is a clock also, the possession of which article of furniture has often been pointed out as the certain indication of prosperity and of personal respectability on the part of the working man. It would be difficult to account for this favourable peculiarity in the town of Sheffield, which, in this respect, offers a strong contrast to other

manufacturing towns in the same county; but it is greatly to be desired that this peculiarity should be made to cease through the growing desire of other communities to surround themselves with the like comfortable emblems of respectability. In large towns, whose populations are in a great measure made up of workmen and their families, such, for instance, as Leeds or Manchester, the progress of improvement in this direction must probably be left to the operation of general causes, and will follow rather than lead to the enlightenment of the people; but in the seats of our principal manufactures there are to be found many villages and small towns, the greater part of whose inhabitants are engaged in the service of a few master manufacturers, and whose condition, both physical and moral, may be greatly influenced by their employers. A very little encouragement, if regard be had to the feelings of those who are to be benefited, and especially if their honest pride of independence be not offended, will suffice to induce habits of cleanliness, order, and propriety in their families, and may lead to a degree of refinement that will wean them from purely sensual indulgences, which, although they may not be criminal in themselves, are too often the incentives to criminal courses. Happily we are not without examples of the good that may be thus effected by judicious kindness, which is amply repaid to those by whom it is exercised, not only through the delightful consciousness of good done to others, but even in a worldly point of view by the habits of steadiness and greater industry begotten in the workmen.*

* At the meeting of the British Association that was held at Liverpool in September, 1837, this subject was brought forward for discussion at one of the sections, and attention was particularly directed to the establishment of Mr. Thomas Ashton, of Hyde, whose

If these examples were extensively followed, we should have little cause to fear lest the increasing numbers of the people should bring with them increasing cares to the working classes. Labour is the agent which in every country provides all the necessities and conveniences of life which are consumed, and "according as this produce, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, so will the nation be better or worse supplied with all the necessities and conveniences for which it has occasion."*

The fact, the existence of which is shown in various ways in these pages, that the people at large have of late years, notwithstanding some occasional checks, obtained in England a continually increasing command of the necessities of life, is proof sufficient that the amount of their individual industry must be greater, or, what is the same thing in effect, must be more skilfully applied than it formerly was when their numbers were not so great, and when, according to the popular (but ill-founded) belief, it must have been easier than it now is for each individual to provide for his comfortable subsistence.

consideration for the physical and moral well-being of his workpeople was cited as an example well deserving imitation in other localities. This circumstance is mentioned here not with the view of complimenting a gentleman, the good qualities of whose heart are already well known and highly appreciated, but in order to adduce in support of the opinion above expressed the testimony of Mr. Ashton, who endeavoured to repudiate all claim to merit on that ground, by declaring that for every shilling of money he had laid out in providing comfortable and respectable dwellings for his workpeople, and furnishing them with conveniences, he receives a very liberal interest.

* Smith's 'Wealth of Nations.' Introductory Chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Houses. Proportion to Inhabitants in England—In Middlesex—In Scotland—In Edinburgh—In Ireland—In Dublin—Rated Value of Houses at different Periods—Proportion of different Classes, and Annual Rental—Number of Inhabited Houses, and progressive Increase greater than Increase of Population. **BRICKS.** Number made in England and Scotland. **TIMBER** and Deals; quantities of Foreign and Colonial used.

Houses.—THE number of houses in a district will usually bear the same relative proportion to the number of its inhabitants at one period that it has borne at another. In different countries, and even in different divisions of the same country, we find a wide disagreement between the average numbers of persons inhabiting each house; but custom does not in this respect undergo much, if any, variation in the same locality, even in a long course of years, so that a statement of the number of inhabited houses existing at different periods in any locality would be found very nearly in agreement with the progressive numbers of the people.

The average number of inhabitants to a house in England and in the county of Middlesex respectively, at each of the periods of enumeration in the present century, will sufficiently illustrate this fact.

Average number of inhabitants to a house—

	In England.	In Middlesex.
1801	5·67	7·25
1811	5·68	7·29
1821	5·76	7·48
1831	5·62	7·52
1841	5·44	7·59

The number of inhabited houses in Scotland and Ireland formed no part of the inquiry made under the Population Acts before 1821; but in that year, and in 1831 and 1841, the numbers were ascertained, and the average number of their inhabitants in all Scotland, in the county of Edinburgh, and in all Ireland, in those years, and in the city of Dublin, at the two earlier periods, were as follows:—

Average number of inhabitants to a house—

	In Scotland.	In Edinburgh.	In Ireland.	In Dublin.
1821	6·13	10·04	5·95	12·43
1831	6·42	11·11	6·21	12·72
1841	*5·04	*5·94	6·54	..

By knowing the number merely of houses in the kingdom at different periods, we do not obtain any test of the condition and social progress of the inhabitants; but we may arrive at some correct conclusion in these respects by knowing their estimated value, as we may thence infer the amount of conveniences which they offer to their inmates. The records of the Tax Office are not available for an earlier period than the year 1812; but at various periods commencing with that year they afford some means for judging how far the general improvement has, in this particular, kept pace with the onward march of the community in England and Scotland.

The tax on inhabited houses, rated in three classes, viz., from 10% to 20%; from 20% to 40%; and above 40% of annual value in the years 1812, 1821, 1831, and

* The enumerators in Scotland, in 1841, are understood to have returned as so many houses the number of separate apartments or flats inhabited by distinct families; while, on former occasions, the number of distinct houses was returned. This will account for the great discrepancy observable in the returns of that year as compared with those of 1821 and 1831.

1833 respectively, was charged upon the following numbers:—

	1812	1821	1831	1833
From £10 to £20 Rent	146,200	72,708	215,233	227,604
.. 20 to 40 ..	94,408	94,878	31,678	30,443
Above £40 Rent	6,438	9,379	3,708	4,133
	247,038	250,965	250,617	262,180

The centesimal proportions of the different classes in these various periods were:—

	1812	1821	1831	1833
From £10 to £20 Rent	9.22	9.21	9.99	11.44
.. 20 to 40 ..	11.78	11.02	10.03	9.48
Above £40 Rent	9.0	9.77	1.44	1.48
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The annual rental of these houses, as rated for the duty, was:—

		Per Cent.	Per Cent.
1812	£2,496,592	..	..
1821	£414,430	increase 10.56	or 10.544 per annum.
1831	£2,351,373	..	11.20
1833	£2,603,212	..	10.44

The number of exemptions from the duty has always been very considerable. Farm-houses, and cottages in-
habited by labouring men, form part of those exemptions.
Previous to 1825 the tax applied to houses of no greater
annual value than 5*l.*, but since that year the lowest
description charged has been of 10*l.* rental. The
number of houses between 5*l.* and 10*l.* annual value,
charged with duty in 1812 and 1821
respectively, was 27,000 and 38,000. The total
number of inhabited houses in England in 1801 and
1811, and in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1821,
1831, and 1841, were—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1801	1,467,870	..	..
1811	1,678,106	..	..
1821	1,951,973	341,474	1,142,602
1831	2,326,022	369,393	1,249,816
1841	2,753,295	*503,357	..

Assuming that the population increased between 1811 and 1812 at the mean rate of progression shown between 1811 and 1821, and that the increase between 1831 and 1833 was after the same rate as that experienced between 1831 and 1841, the numbers living in Great Britain in the above four years respectively were—

1812	12,776,286	..	..
1821	14,391,631	increase 12·63 per cent., or 1·40 per annum.	
1831	16,262,301	„ 13·00 „ 1·30 „	
1833	16,716,308	„ 2·79 „ 1·40 „	

The increase in the number of houses chargeable to the duty, viz., from 10% rental upwards, was—

Between 1812 and 1821	18·15 per cent., or 2·01 per annum.	
„ 1821 and 1831	22·69 „ 2·27 „	
„ 1831 and 1833	2·75 „ 1·37 „	

On the houses rated above 40% the increase has been—

Between 1812 and 1821	22·93 per cent., or 2·55 per annum.	
„ 1821 and 1831	20·65 „ 2·06 „	
„ 1831 and 1833	0·86 „ 0·43 „	

The increase between 1812 and 1833 was—

In the population	. . . . . 30·83 per cent.
In houses rated at £10 to £40.	. 48·96 „
„ upwards of £40	. 49·60 „

The house duty was repealed from 5th April, 1834.

It appears, from the foregoing numbers and proportions, that while no advance has been made in the

* See note, page 9.

relative value of dwellings chargeable with duty, the increase in the number of those dwellings has been greater than the increase in the population; which circumstance is sufficiently explained by the fact already adduced, that the number of persons engaged in rural occupations, and by whom the exemptions from the inhabited house duty were enjoyed, has not increased in the same ratio as the increase experienced by other classes, by which means the proportionate number of persons inhabiting rated dwellings is greater now than formerly; and as it has necessarily happened that the great bulk of the persons forming that increase are supplied by the working classes, it argues strongly in favour of the onward progress of society, that the proportions among the different classes of houses has been preserved in the manner already stated.

Bricks.—The quantity of bricks made in Great Britain is registered by the Excise; but no duty being charged upon them in Ireland, we have no account of the quantity made there. The number made in England and Scotland respectively, at different periods within the present century, has been as follows:—

	England.	Scotland.	Total.
1802	698,596,954	15,291,789	713,888,743
1811	950,547,173	18,765,582	969,312,755
1821	899,178,510	14,052,590	913,231,100
1831	1,125,462,408	27,586,173	1,153,048,581
1838	1,427,472,263	27,411,874	1,454,884,137
1839	1,569,020,952	42,267,633	1,611,288,585
1840	1,677,811,134	47,821,599	1,725,632,733
1841	1,423,794,267	38,463,308	1,462,257,575

The great increase observable in the later years is, no doubt, owing in great part to the increase of manufactories, and very recently to the construction of railroads and other public works, which have been carried on to a far

greater extent proportionally in England than in Scotland. It will be seen that the annual use of bricks in Great Britain has more than doubled within the present century, and that by far the greater part of this increase has occurred since 1821, the difference between that year and 1840 having been more than 800,000,000, or nearly 90 per cent.

CHAPTER III.

MALE SERVANTS. Number kept in different Years—Expenditure thus occasioned—Number of Female Servants, and Expense of maintaining them, in 1831—Number of Servants kept in Ireland, and Cost of their Maintenance. **CARRIAGES.** Number kept in different Years—Rate of Increase—Number let for Hire—Expenditure under these Heads. **HORSES.** Number charged with Duty in 1838—For Pleasure—For Trade—Number exempt from Duty. **GOLD AND SILVER PLATE.** Quantities made during the War, and since—Improvement in Quality of Plated Goods a probable Cause of the lessened Use of Silver Articles.

Servants.—THE number of persons assessed for keeping male domestic servants in 1812, 1821, 1831, and 1840, respectively, was—

		1812	1821	1831	1840
		No. of	No. of	No. of	No. of
		Servants.	Servants.	Servants.	Servants.
Persons keeping	1 servant .	37,339	39,673	50,938	55,038
„	2 servants .	13,032	13,258	16,125	17,452
„	3 „	10,098	9,231	10,257	11,395
„	4 „	6,776	6,604	6,735	7,046
„	5 „	4,625	4,390	4,164	4,590
„	6 „	3,174	2,904	3,060	3,232
„	7 „	2,310	1,960	2,004	2,268
„	8 „	1,528	1,528	1,721	1,697
„	9 „	1,287	1,053	988	997
„	10 „	980	700	738	811
„	11 & upwards	4,944	4,456	5,078	5,288
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		86,093	85,757	101,808	109,814

The most striking fact exhibited by these numbers is the actual decrease in the number assessed in 1821 as compared with the number in 1812. Had the number

kept pace with the increase in population, it would have amounted in 1821 to 96,966, or 13 per cent. beyond the actual number. This deficiency there is every reason to attribute to the exhaustion consequent upon the latter years of the war, and the increased expense of living during the greater part of that interval, which much discouraged the keeping up of large establishments. During the following decennary period, the country had recovered in a great degree from the state of things just described; and we find that the number of male servants was increased by 16,051, or 18·71 per cent. In 1840, the last year for which the returns have been made, the number was further increased by 8006,—which is less than two-thirds what it should have been to keep pace with the increase of population. In 1835 the number exceeded that in 1836 by 2160 servants, and exhibited a progress since 1831 exactly commensurate with that of the population. For the falling off between 1835 and 1836 it is not possible to assign any reasonable cause.

It is probably below the actual cost if we estimate the expense attending the keeping of male servants, including wages, liveries, and maintenance, at 60*l.* per annum for each. Colonel Sykes, in an estimate presented by him to the Statistical Society of London, and published in its transactions, assumes that the expense is 70*l.* per annum for each. At the more moderate rate of 60*l.*, the annual amount thus expended in Great Britain in the different years already given was:—

1812	£5,165,580
1821	5,145,420
1831	6,108,480
1836	6,343,140
1839	6,598,680
1840	6,588,840

If to the expenditure of 1831 (the only year in which

the returns enable us to do so) we add the probable expense of maintaining 670,491 female servants—the number then ascertained to be kept in Great Britain, averaging the expense of each for board and wages at 35*l.* per annum, it will appear that the expense incurred for domestic servants in that year was altogether 29,575,665*l.*

The tax on servants does not apply to Ireland, where, probably for that reason, the proportion to the whole population of male servants kept is much greater than in Great Britain, as appeared at the census of 1831. The number of domestic servants then found in Ireland was—

Males	. . . . .	98,742
Females	. . . . .	253,155

If, in consideration of the more moderate expense of living in that part of the kingdom, we assume that it costs 45*l.* to keep a man-servant and 25*l.* to keep a woman-servant, we have a further yearly expenditure under this head of 10,772,165*l.*, making the charge throughout the United Kingdom amount to 40,347,830*l.*

Carriages.—The number of carriages with four wheels assessed in the years above mentioned was—

	1812	1821	1831	1840
	—	—	—	—
	No of Car- riages.	No. of Car- riages.	No. of Car- riages.	No. of Car- riages.
Persons keeping 1 carriage . .	12,866	13,897	18,480	18,308
„ 2 carriages .	2,792	2,834	4,976	6,981
„ 3 „	657	588	983	1,262
„ 4 „	180	160	236	324
„ 5 „	60	55	126	156
„ 6 „	18	6	36	59
„ 7 „	7	7	21	29
„ 8 „	16	8	8	5
„ 9 and upwards	. .	. .	20	70
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	16,596	17,555	24,886	27,194

The increased use of carriages with four wheels between 1812 and 1821 was no more than 959, or 5·77 per cent., being less than one-half the proportionate increase of population: the number was increased in the next ten years by 7331, or 41 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., being nearly three times as great as the increased numbers of the people. Between 1831 and 1840 there has been a further increase of 2308 carriages, or at the rate of nearly 10 per cent., while the increase to the population was 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the eighteen years between 1821 and 1840 the use of carriages with four wheels has increased very nearly 56 per cent., or in a ratio very nearly double that of the increase of the people.

The increased use of carriages with two wheels has been even more striking than this, as appears from the following figures:—

	Number of Two-wheel Carriages.
1812	27,286
1821	30,743
1831	49,331
1839	44,379
1840	42,732

The increase between 1812 and 1821 was 12·67 per cent.

„ „ 1821 and 1831 was 60·46 „

During the next eight years there has been a diminution of 10 per cent., which still leaves an increase from 1812 of 62·64 per cent. The recent decrease is, in all probability, partly the result of improvements in hired carriages, the number of which in 1831 was 20,196, and in 1836 had increased to 33,070, or 63 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The number of carriages let for hire in 1812 was 5544, and in 1821 only 5480.

The progress made in these several years in the use of all these descriptions of carriages has been as follows:—

Carriages.	1812	1821	1831	1836	1840
With four wheels	16,596	17,555	24,886	26,861	27,194
„ two wheels	27,286	30,743	49,331	45,242	42,732
Let for hire . .	5,544	5,480	20,196	31,937	34,550
	<hr/> 49,426	<hr/> 53,778	<hr/> 94,413	<hr/> 104,040	<hr/> 104,476

It is assumed by Colonel Sykes, in the estimate already noticed, that the expense attending every four-wheeled private carriage is about 250*l.* per annum, in which sum he includes the wages and maintenance of servants, which he has put down at 70*l.* for each; but as there must be at least two servants kept—a coachman and a groom or footman for each carriage—this would reduce the charge to 110*l.* per annum for the wear and tear of the carriage and harness and the keep of the horses, with various accessory charges, which sum is probably much within the average charge. It may be fairly assumed, that, taking the four-wheeled and two-wheeled carriages together, the average expense is not below 100*l.* per annum for each; and if we add to these the same rate for the earnings of each carriage let for hire, we shall have an annual expenditure under this head in Great Britain in each of the above years as follows:—

1812	£4,942,600
1821	5,377,800
1831	9,441,300
1836	10,404,000
1840	10,447,600

Horses.—Owing to the many alterations that have been made since 1814 in the duties chargeable in respect of horses kept for pleasure, it is hardly possible to compare the numbers so kept at different periods. As regards horses kept for some purposes of business, the duty has been repealed, either wholly or partially, while in other

classes of employment a great number have, upon some pretext or other, been exempted from payment of duty. As respects most of the classes thus favoured, the numbers were not distinguished at the time when the duties were chargeable, and it is therefore not possible to ascertain from the returns of the Tax Office the number of horses kept for pleasure or recreation at different periods, nor the degree in which their use has been influenced by the imposition, or modification, or removal of the tax, and there is not any other channel of information on the subject open to us.

The number of horses used for riding or drawing carriages charged with duty in 1838 and 1840 was—

		1838	1840
Persons keeping	1 horse	89,940	89,319
„	2 horses	33,333	34,671
„	3 „	11,707	11,770
„	4 „	6,168	6,356
„	5 „	3,111	3,276
„	6 „	2,153	2,245
„	7 to 8	2,392	2,280
„	9 „	595	613
„	10 to 12	1,267	1,253
„	13 to 16	782	853
„	17 „	107	49
„	18 „	108	162
„	19 „	89	96
„	20 & upwards	1,221	1,343
		<hr/> 152,973	<hr/> 154,286

There were, besides the above, duties charged on—

	1838	1840
Horses let to hire	2,201	2,179
Race-horses	1,119	1,095
Horses for riding, or drawing carriages, not exceeding 13 hands high . . .	22,456	22,594

	1888-	1849
Horses ridden by farmers' bailiffs . . .	69	55
„ butchers	4,389	4,419
Draught horses used in trade . . .	125,813	132,342
„ mules	344	381
	<hr/> 156,391	<hr/> 163,065

Exemptions from duty on horses were claimed in the same years as follows :—

	1888-	1849
Kept by farmers renting less than £500 a-year	48,635	49,709
Used solely for husbandry	387,211	392,749
Subject to duty in other forms: viz., as employed in stage-coaches, hackney-coaches, and post-chaises	27,100	24,710
Persons serving in volunteer corps . . .	13,164	11,857
Exempted on other grounds	59,373	60,849
	<hr/> 535,485	<hr/> 539,894

Gold and Silver Plate.—It might be thought that the quantity of gold and silver plate manufactured for use at different periods would afford a good measure of the prosperity of the country ; and, judging from the facts already brought forward, as well as from the observation of what is passing around us, we might have supposed that during the last quarter of a century there must have been a marked increase in this employment of the precious metals in this kingdom. It is certain that during that interval the use of many utensils made of silver has been adopted by a much more numerous class of society than before, a remark which will be sufficiently corroborated by the fact that within that period it has first been customary to find silver forks at the tables of the generality of taverns. Before the termination of the war in 1815 this article of domestic convenience was uniformly made of steel, except

among families in decidedly easy circumstances, or in the first-rate taverns; whereas at present there is hardly a family to be found above the rank of artisans whose table is not furnished with forks made of the more costly material. It will be matter for surprise, under these circumstances, to find that the quantity of gold and silver plate made and retained for home use within the kingdom was greater in weight during the eight years that preceded the peace than it was during the like period from 1830 to 1837 inclusive. During the first period, viz., 1807 to 1814, the quantities so retained for use were—of gold plate 50,750 ounces, and of silver plate 8,290,157 ounces; and in the eight years, from 1830 to 1837, the quantities were—of gold 48,432 ounces, and of silver 7,378,651 ounces. This falling off is the more surprising because of the unprecedentedly high prices of bullion during a great part of the first of these two periods, whereby the difference in the money value was rendered much greater than the difference as here stated in the weight.

Some suggestions have been offered with the view of accounting for a circumstance seemingly so much at variance with every other indication of increased means and enjoyments on the part of the people: they are stated here only as suggestions, however, and are not relied on as affording a sufficient or satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

First, it may be questioned whether the fact of the depreciation of paper, while it enhanced the money price of articles made of gold and silver, did not also occasion many persons, as a measure of prudent precaution, so to invest a part of their wealth, and thereby to secure the possession of a certain and tangible property of immediately convertible value. It may be objected that persons

so acting were prudent overmuch, and, judging from the course which events have since taken, such an opinion appears well founded ; but any one who can recall to his recollection the dismal aspect then offered by the political horizon—when every power in Europe was leagued against us, and the necessary expenditure of the country was carried forward upon a scale which it would have been altogether impossible to have continued for even a few years longer—will hesitate before he pronounces such a precaution unwise. Even when the ambitious designs of Napoleon had detached from him and converted into enemies the allies who had pursued with him the object of destroying the power and resources of England, there came no intermission of efforts and sacrifices on our part, but, on the contrary, every ally that we gained in the field helped still further to exhaust our financial means. Let us suppose that the battle of Waterloo had been lost, or even that it had been less decisive in its results, could the public expenditure have been continued on anything like the scale of preceding years, while at the same time faith had been kept with the public creditors? Under such circumstances he would have been looked upon as a man of forethought and wisdom who should have provided himself with a species of convertible property that was independent of the stability of public credit ; and as it is well known that many persons did at that time entertain very gloomy forebodings as to the future condition of this country, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some would be led to the precautionary course that has been here suggested.

There was at the same time another circumstance in operation altogether opposite to, but not incompatible with, what has been stated, and which probably led to the same desire of investing money in the purchase of

gold and silver plate. The gains of persons engaged, either as owners or tenants, in the cultivation of the soil, had been out of all proportion great, and that for a length of time which gave an appearance of permanency to their prosperity. It has been already stated in how great a degree the rent of land had advanced during the progress of the war, at the same time that the worldly condition and habits of the occupiers had undergone the most marked improvement. There are no classes of men so remarkable in this country as its nobility and country gentlemen for the importance which they attach to the possession and transmission of family plate; and with respect to the farmers, the alteration in their circumstances and character must have caused a great demand on their part for such luxuries. In those days it scarcely required the passing away of a generation in order to see in farmers' dwellings, on the same estates, spoons of wood or of horn give place to others of silver. It must further be considered that luxuries of this class are not of a perishable nature; that, except for the indulgence of ostentation, they are provided in the same family once for all, and we must not therefore expect that any sudden increase in their quantity will lead to further and equal additions when that immediate demand shall be satisfied. The improvement that has been made in the manufacture of plated articles has had a further influence in diminishing the sale of articles subject to the plate duty, although it may have led, and in all probability has led, to the increased consumption of the precious metals. Except in very wealthy families, it is now usual to see many articles, such as candlesticks, plated, where formerly they were seen of silver, or, if the expense of such was too great, of brass.

The combination of these various causes may probably

be thought sufficient to account for the fact exhibited by the following table of the comparative decline experienced in this branch of consumption. The years 1824 and 1825 are well remembered as years of great commercial excitement and apparent prosperity, and it is curious to observe the degree in which that excitement acted in promoting the desire of possessing gold and silver utensils. The increased quantity retained for home use in the year 1825, as compared with 1823, was equal to 29 per cent. on gold and 50 per cent. on silver plate: the difference in favour of 1825, as compared with 1824, was 10 per cent. on gold and 24 per cent. on silver plate.

During the five years from 1836 to 1840, the quantity retained for use, of both gold and silver articles, has increased. Those made of gold are now even greater in quantity than the average of the latter years of the war; but the increase is yet not nearly equal to the increase of population. The quantity of silver plate is still below the average of the years 1807 to 1814. This fact of the greater comparative increase of gold as compared with silver plate, viewed in connexion with the increasing number of persons who keep a great number of carriages and servants, would seem to confirm the belief of the tendency of wealth to accumulate in large masses.

Number of Ounces of Gold and Silver Plate upon which Duty was Paid and for which Drawback was Allowed, showing the Quantity retained for Home Use, in each Year, from 5th January, 1800, to 5th January, 1841.

Year ended 5th January,	Duty paid on		Drawback allowed on		Retained for Home Use.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
	OZS.	OZS.	OZS.	OZS.	OZS.	OZS.
1801	5251	902,966	77	142,705	5174	760,261
1802	4619	925,882	19	114,323	4600	811,559
1803	5137	986,381	66	126,878	5071	859,503
1804	5445	1,048,869	10	99,293	5435	949,674
1805	4854	902,788	21	114,829	4833	787,959
1806	5408	1,056,693	9	122,082	5399	934,611
1807	5372	1,034,523	43	121,608	5329	962,917
1808	6056	1,141,749	20	131,850	6036	1,009,899
1809	6189	1,159,412	18	90,516	6171	1,068,896
1810	6382	1,242,208	53	71,116	6329	1,171,092
1811	7435	1,341,024	102	96,896	7333	1,254,128
1812	6212	1,154,738	34	92,245	6178	1,062,493
1813	5891	990,223	34	50,334	5857	939,889
1814	6115	917,697	19	52,234	6096	865,463
1815	6779	974,245	29	55,948	6750	918,297
1816	7499	1,054,658	493	108,174	6997	946,484
1817	7002	910,002	836	83,142	6166	824,800
1818	5827	1,080,549	2061	106,417	3826	974,132
1819	5881	1,293,586	2507	98,777	3374	1,194,709
1820	6037	1,230,104	1607	116,507	4430	1,113,597
1821	6651	1,081,310	3735	114,224	2916	967,080
1822	5434	1,022,761	1436	120,600	3998	902,161
1823	6997	1,027,722	1370	64,783	5627	963,939
1824	6316	1,073,244	20	97,016	6496	976,228
1825	7682	1,258,658	38	70,482	7624	1,189,176
1826	8496	1,585,254	81	112,017	8405	1,473,237
1827	7108	1,247,880	..	71,493	7108	1,176,387
1828	7266	1,207,837	10	60,910	7256	1,146,977
1829	7106	1,361,332	2	86,157	7104	1,275,175
1830	6441	1,271,322	12	109,907	6429	1,161,413
1831	5716	1,076,976	6	84,444	5710	992,533
1832	4574	826,032	9	160,127	4565	725,925
1833	5189	914,096	15	79,639	5174	834,437
1834	5434	879,117	2	72,005	5432	807,112
1835	6116	1,050,232	..	102,261	6116	947,981
1836	6678	1,071,026	16	110,247	6662	960,779
1837	7966	1,222,920	..	164,064	7966	1,108,856
1838	6811	1,178,668	4	177,539	6807	1,001,029
1839	6784	1,193,483	21	161,453	6763	1,034,025
1840	6875	1,270,300	7	155,923	6868	1,114,467
1841	6992	1,209,266	7	179,904	6985	1,029,362

CHAPTER IV.

PROD. Want of Information concerning the Quantity consumed of chief Articles of Human Subsistence—Loss resulting from this Ignorance—Means employed for ascertaining the Produce of the Soil in Belgium. **WHEAT.** Quantity consumed at various Periods in England and Ireland, and Revenue thereon—Consumption nearly affected by Price—Diminished Shipments from British Colonies—Warranty for enlarging the Market of Supply—Cost to the Nation of the Protecting Duty, and consequent Loss to the Revenue. **COFFEE.** Quantities consumed—Effect of Reduction of Duties—Consumption checked by Protective Duties—Contributions for lessening their Amount. **TEA.** Quantities consumed—Past History of the Tea Trade, and Effect of Duties upon Consumption. **MALT.** Consumption at various periods—Checked by Duties and by Monopoly of Home-growers of Barley. **SPIRITS.** Consumption of Home-made Spirits—Temperance Movements in Ireland—Foreign and Colonial Spirits consumed—Excessive Duties, and their Consequences. **WINE.** Quantities consumed—Rates of Duty—Consumption of Wine in France. **BEER.** Quantity consumed, and Produce of Duty.

THERE are no means provided by which the consumption of the prime necessities of life in this country can be traced at different periods. It is only with respect to those few articles of native production which have been subjected to the payment of duties that any provision has ever been made for ascertaining their quantity; and as the chief articles of food and clothing, when of native production, have never been directly taxed in England, we have always been ignorant in this respect regarding the quantities produced.

The want of this information has been found greatly inconvenient, both by statesmen and by writers on

subjects of social economy, the latter of whom have frequently had recourse to the expedient of computations founded on insufficient data, and which have therefore given an unsatisfactory character to their writings. In estimating the growth of wheat in England, it has not been possible to assume as data the breadth of land appropriated to its cultivation, and the average produce of the land per acre, both those elements of the computation being unknown; but the number of the consumers being known, the average consumption of each individual has been assumed, and the total quantity consumed has been thence deduced. This average consumption has been variously estimated by different writers at from six to eight bushels during the year, exhibiting a difference of one-third in their calculations. The population of England and Wales is probably at this time (1842) 16,000,000, and the difference in the provision needed, according as the consumption equals one or other of the quantities named, would be 4,000,000 quarters per annum. In former times a still further degree of uncertainty attended the estimate, from the fact of a considerable, but unascertained, proportion of the people not being habitual consumers of wheaten bread. Unless in years of scarcity, no part of the inhabitants of England, except perhaps in the extreme north, and there only partially, have now recourse to rye or barley bread, but a great and increasing number are in a great measure fed upon potatoes, and it must be evident that any computation which assumes an average quantity in a case liable to so many disturbing influences, can be at best only vague and unsatisfactory.

The importance of knowing accurately the provision made for the sustenance of the people is surely not less than that of knowing the yearly produce of some of the

less valuable articles of commerce. The condition of the crop of indigo in Bengal is accurately communicated to the merchants in London at the earliest moment when it can be known, and through its influence upon the price has an immediate effect in checking or in promoting the consumption; but as regards the staple article of our food, no systematic attempt has ever been made to ascertain its sufficiency or otherwise. It is now well known that the produce of the harvest of 1837 was so far below the average consumption of the people, that before the grain of 1838 could be brought to market the stock of English wheat was all but exhausted, and, but for the supply of foreign corn in our granaries, there would have been a most distressing scarcity before any fresh importations could have been received. If by any means the fact of this deficiency had been ascertained when the harvest of 1837 was got in, we should certainly not have seen, as we did, an actual fall in our markets immediately following that harvest, nor a continuance of comparatively low prices up to the middle of 1838. If a timely warning could have been given, a moderate but still an adequate rise in price would have been the immediate consequence, and the consumption would have been by that means so influenced that we should, in all probability, have avoided in a great degree that excessive rise in the cost of bread which has been productive of much hardship to our labouring classes, and which, but for the abundant demand for labour throughout the kingdom, would immediately have occasioned general and wide-spread misery.

There is among the people of this country a most unaccountable prejudice against the adoption of any organized plan on the part of the government for obtaining this knowledge. It would be difficult for our farmers to point out any mischief that could result to them from

such a course, and, on the other hand, it must be quite unnecessary to explain the kind and degree of advantage which the country generally, and which they especially, would derive from the possession of accurate details on the subject. The high prices to which corn advanced towards the end of 1838 were of but little advantage to the growers, who had for the most part already brought their stocks to market, in ignorance of the facts which afterwards became apparent; so that the benefit of the rise was almost wholly engrossed by the importers of foreign grain, which would certainly not have been the case if any accurate estimate of the crop of 1837 could have been made.

In Belgium every kind of information connected with the production of the kingdom is obtained with considerable accuracy, by means of a body of gentlemen (usually proprietors) residing in different localities, and who are elected in the respective provinces, for purposes of local government, by the same persons that elect deputies to the legislative chamber. The functions of the persons thus elected are in many respects similar to those of justices of the peace in English counties. Having local knowledge concerning the condition and circumstances of the several *communes* in their districts, they are enabled readily to prevent or to detect errors in the returns made by the several farmers or occupiers, and there is therefore every reason to place a considerable degree of reliance upon the accuracy of the result. This result is annually presented by them in a detailed report, which is printed under the authority of the governor of the province, and is open to the use of every one of the inhabitants. It has never been pretended that any improper advantage has been taken of the knowledge thus acquired; and if this can be said of Belgium, where the members of the legislative chambers have not by any

means so great nor so direct an interest in the landed property of the kingdom as is possessed by the members of our two houses of Parliament, there cannot surely be any reason to dread lest injury should thus be occasioned in England. The information which it appears to be so desirable to obtain with reference to the whole kingdom, is already procurable with the greatest facility, with regard to each individual farm, by any person having a sufficient interest to incite him to the task. The landlord, who is interested in extracting a due proportion of the produce of a farm in the name of rent, cannot find much difficulty in correctly estimating that produce. A similar facility attends the operation both of the tithe-proctor and of the officers of the parish. The information is therefore already procurable by every one who can turn it to the disadvantage of the farmer; and all that is wanted is to extend it, so that the farmer himself, as well as the nation at large, may be enabled to profit from it. If the members of our two houses of Parliament belonged exclusively to the mercantile and manufacturing classes, there might be some appearance of prudence in concealment on the part of the agriculturists, but in the actual state of things, when, with scarcely an exception, every member of the House of Lords draws his revenue from land, and an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons are similarly circumstanced, it is quite absurd to suppose that any measures inimical to the interests of those who possess or occupy the soil would be attempted by them.

The impossibility of estimating correctly the consumption of the country in the common kinds of food does not extend to many other articles of use. These are for the most part imported from foreign countries, while some, which are of home production, are subjected to excise

regulations, and their quantities are thus made known. In order to trace the power of consumption at different periods in this kingdom, it will suffice to select a few of the more important articles in these two classes. The five years selected for the purpose of making this comparative statement are those in which the census was taken. Owing to the deficiency of information upon which reliance can be placed with regard to the population of Ireland previous to 1821, it will not be possible in all cases to embrace that part of the kingdom in the calculations.

Sugar.—The parliamentary returns relative to this article of consumption do not correctly indicate the quantity that is retained for use within the kingdom. It is the practice in the annual statements prepared at the Custom-house, to consider every ton of refined sugar that is exported to be equal to, and to represent 34 cwts. of raw sugar; and this larger weight is deducted in respect of each ton so exported, from the quantity upon which duty is paid, in order to arrive at the quantity actually used. This proceeding involves a great and palpable error, through which the apparent home consumption is made to vary according to the amount of the exports of refined sugar. The actual loss through waste in the operation of refining does not ever amount to more than 5 per cent., and seldom reaches that rate: it would therefore be more correct to consider a ton of refined sugar to represent 21 cwts. of the unrefined material, and this course has been adopted in the following computations. The statement would be incomplete if molasses, which is sugar in a liquid form combined with water, were not included. The proportion which this should bear to sugar in a crystalline state has been assumed on the average to be as 9 to 24, the duty being imposed on

the two descriptions in that ratio. The quantity of molasses upon which duty was paid in 1811 is therefore added, considering 24 cwts. to be equal to 9 cwts. of crystalline sugar. Through the prohibition to employ grain in the distilleries, and the consequent substitution of sugar, its use was greatly increased in 1811. The quantity thus employed in that year appears to have been 544,192 cwts., thus reducing its aggregate consumption in the saccharine form to 2,748,129 cwts., and the proportion used by each individual to 24 lbs. 9 ozs.

	1801	1811	1821
GREAT BRITAIN.			
Quantity cleared for consumption, viz.			
Sugar cwts.	3,341,496	3,398,367	3,128,026
Molasses . . . . . "	. .	. .	21,428
Total, as if sugar "	3,341,496	3,398,367	3,149,454
Refined sugar exported in the proportion of 21 for 20 "	350,639	106,046	677,708
Quantity remaining for consumption "	2,990,857	3,292,321	2,471,746
Rate of duty per cwt.	20s.	27s.	27s.
Population	10,942,646	12,596,803	14,391,631
Consumption of each individual	30 lb. 9½ oz.	29 lb. 4½ oz.	19 lb. 3¼ oz.
IRELAND.			
Quantity of sugar retained for consumption cwts.	298,069	420,093	380,608
Rate of duty per cwt.	17s. 6d.	27s.	27s.
Population	5,395,456	5,950,917	6,801,827
Consumption of each individual	6 lb. 3 oz.	7 lb. 14½ oz.	6 lb. 4½ oz.
	Average of Three Years ended 25 Mar. 1800.	Average of Three Years ended 5 Jan. 1810.	1821.

Owing to the regulation of the year 1826, by which the trading intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland was placed on the footing of a coasting trade, it became impossible thereafter to state the consumption of

sugar in the several divisions of the kingdom. The raw sugar used in Ireland is for the most part imported direct from the places of production ; but refined sugar is wholly supplied to Ireland from Great Britain, and no account of the quantity is kept by the Custom-house officers.

While it is necessary to raise any considerable revenue, and so long as it shall be thought advisable to do so by means of indirect taxation, it would be difficult to point out any better fitted for the purpose than sugar. Without being one of the absolute necessities of life, long habit has in this country led almost every class to the almost daily use of it, so that there is no people in Europe by whom it is consumed to anything like the same extent. It is besides, from its bulk, in proportion to its value, not likely to be clandestinely imported. If it were attempted to subject it to such a rate of duty as would convert it into an object of temptation to the smuggler, the legitimate consumption would fall off to such a degree as would render the attempt on the part of the government altogether abortive. The action of the smuggler, which, with regard to many articles—such as tobacco and spirits—may be considered as forming the natural limit to taxation, affords therefore no criterion in the case of sugar, but we may find in the foregoing computations a sufficiently significant indication that the rate of duty, although now somewhat lower than it was during the war, is still too high ; and that by making a great reduction in that rate we may, under ordinary circumstances, so increase the consumption as not merely to give an impulse to trade, but also to increase the revenue. Confining the inquiry to Great Britain, it appears that if we take population as an element in the

computation, the revenue did not gain by the increased rates imposed in 1805 :—

Year.	Population.	Net Revenue. £.	Rate of Duty.	Tax, per Head. s. d.
1801	10,942,646	2,782,232	20s. per cwt.	5 1
1811	12,596,803	3,339,218	27s. „	5 3½
1821	14,391,631	3,660,567	27s. „	5 1½
1831	16,539,318	4,219,049	24s. „	5 1½
1841	*18,532,335	4,686,241	24s., & 5 per cent.	5 0¾

If we extend the calculation so as to embrace Ireland, the result will be found as follows :—

Year.	Population.	Net Revenue. £.	Rate of Duty.	Tax, per Head. s. d.
1801	16,338,102	3,066,163	20s. per cwt.	3 9·04
1811	18,547,720	†3,183,505	27s. „	3 5·19
1821	21,193,458	4,077,706	27s. „	3 10·17
1831	24,029,702	4,650,589	24s. „	3 10·44
1841	26,711,694	5,114,390	24s., & 5 per cent.	3 9·95

Of all articles of consumption which are not absolute necessities of life, sugar is, perhaps, that which in this country is the most easily acted upon by price. The following Table, which includes the whole kingdom, shows the quantity of sugar, and of molasses equivalent to crystalline sugar, retained for consumption in the United Kingdom in each year, from 1830 to 1841, together with the average price during the year, computed from the Gazette advertisements, and the average consumption of each individual stated in pounds and decimal parts of a pound :—

* Exclusive of the Channel Islands.

† Allowing £734,659 in respect of 544,192 cwts. of sugar used in the distilleries.

Year.	Quantity of Sugar retained for Consumption.	Molasses, equivalent to Sugar, taken for Consumption.	Sugar and Molasses retained for Consumption.	Average Price per London Gazette.		Average Con- sumption of each Person.
	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.	s.	d.	lbs.
1830	4,147,350	126,595	4,273,945	25	0½	19·94
1831	4,233,509	130,734	4,364,243	23	8	20·11
1832	3,974,627	212,508	4,187,135	28	8½	19·00
1833	3,780,138	241,457	4,021,595	29	7½	17·99
1834	4,013,919	190,492	4,154,411	29	2½	18·31
1835	4,116,153	233,429	4,421,145	33	9½	19·21
1836	3,676,496	246,405	3,922,901	40	9	16·58
1837	4,127,446	222,007	4,349,053	34	5	18·38
1838	4,089,453	197,329	4,418,334	33	7	18·42
1839	3,838,627	199,987	4,171,938	39	4½	17·16
1840	3,606,038	158,672	3,764,710	48	7½	15·28
1841	4,057,628	150,696	4,208,324	38	3½	17·65

If, by means of this statement, we trace from year to year the fluctuations in price, we shall find that they are attended by corresponding fluctuations in the consumption, and that with a degree of regularity more like the operations of a piece of machinery than as resulting from circumstances affecting in such various ways and in such different degrees our numerous population. With one exception only, that of the year 1835, every rise in price has been accompanied by diminished consumption, while every fall in the market has produced an increased demand. It will be remembered that the year 1835, in which there appears some departure from the uniformity of this effect, was a year of great, of almost universal, excitement throughout the kingdom. Never before, perhaps, was there an equal number of public works in operation. Every man who was able and willing to work readily obtained employment at full wages. Every loom was filled, every anvil was at work, and, to crown the advantages thus enjoyed by our labouring population,

the chief necessities of life were procurable at prices lower than had been previously known by the existing generation. Under these circumstances, which unhappily have not often been found in conjunction, it cannot be matter for surprise that the people should have expended a little more than usual of their earnings upon an article of consumption so universally desired as sugar. But even under these circumstances of comparative ease the average consumption of 1835 did not attain the rate which it reached in 1830 or in 1831, when the market-price was from 8s. to 10s. per hundred weight lower, but when the condition of the labouring population was not in other respects so prosperous as in 1835.

The quantities stated in the foregoing Table, as the yearly consumption of each individual, are average quantities, calculated on the assumption that the rich and the poor, the nobleman and the beggar, fare alike in their use of this condiment. It would be difficult to discover with accuracy the consumption of the various ranks into which the community is divided. There are of course many whose use of sugar is not governed by its market-price, so far at least as any fluctuations that we have experienced would be likely to affect them. The outlay for this article forms so small a part of the household expenses of the easy classes, that whether the price should be sixpence or a shilling per pound might have no influence in increasing or diminishing its use. The decrease or increase of the quantity consumed throughout the country is therefore evidence of a very great degree of fluctuation in its use by all other classes. From inquiries carefully made, it appears probable that in the families of the rich and middle ranks the individual yearly consumption of sugar for all purposes is 40 pounds : if then we assume that one-fifth of the families in the

kingdom are so circumstanced as not to vary their mode of living with every fluctuation in the market-prices of provisions, we shall find that in 1831 the average consumption per head of the remaining four-fifths was 15 lbs. 2 ozs. In 1840 the average consumption was $15\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., or $76\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. for five persons, one of which taking the constant quantity of 40 lbs. left for each of the remaining four only 9 lbs. 1 oz. Every person serving on board one of Her Majesty's ships is allowed $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of sugar per diem, or 34 lbs. 3 ozs. yearly; and the allowance given to aged paupers in the Union-houses is 1 oz. per diem, or $22\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. per annum.

The year 1840 exhibits the highest average price and the lowest average consumption. The effect of price in producing this result will be rendered more strikingly apparent by comparing somewhat more in detail the consumption of the two years 1839 and 1840. The deliveries of sugar from the warehouses, and the average prices in each month of those two years, were as follows:—

	1839		1840	
	Quantity.	Average Price.	Quantity.	Average Price.
	cwts.	s. d.	cwts.	s. d.
January . .	283,956	37 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	403,600	37 10
February . .	281,828	36 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	337,141	39 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
March . .	288,156	40 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	237,612	40 3
April . . .	231,723	39 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	316,440	42 9
May . . .	371,676	42 9	354,329	46 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
June . . .	332,045	41 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	401,797	50 11
July . . .	400,834	40 1	312,526	57 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
August . .	411,071	40 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	300,264	58 1
September .	353,111	40 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	321,137	57 10
October . .	275,662	37 1	238,509	57 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
November .	341,153	38 4	200,334	56 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
December .	286,462	37 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	183,056	51 8 $\frac{1}{4}$

The great advance in price was not experienced until the month of July, 1840; and if we contrast the deliveries from the warehouses and the average prices of the two half-yearly periods of 1839 and 1840, the following is the result:—

	1839			1840		
	Quantity.	Average Price.		Quantity.	Average Price.	
	— cwts.	s.	d.	— cwts.	s.	d.
January to June .	1,789,384	39	8½	2,059,919	42	10½
July to December .	2,068,233	39	0½	1,555,826	56	4½

An advance in price not quite equal to 2*d.* per pound has thus caused a diminished consumption of 25,600 tons in six months; and if the calculation of the average consumption be made for the half-year in which that diminution was experienced, it will be found that it was at the rate of only 12½ lbs. per annum for each individual, or 40 lbs. per head for those in easy circumstances, and only 6 lbs. per head for all other classes.

This result has been occasioned under our protective system, by short production in the West India colonies. The importations thence, which in 1831 amounted to 200,000 tons, did not in 1840 exceed 110,000 tons; and although during the interval, by a partial reform in our tariff, which now admits sugar, the produce of Bengal, at the same rate of duty as West India sugar, we have thence received an additional supply equal to 12,500 tons, yet the importations of sugar in 1840 fell short even of the greatly diminished consumption by 22,000 tons.

If this state of the trade could be viewed as likely to continue, it is clear that the wants of the consumers and the deficiency in the revenue would together compel the government to remodel the system of sugar duties, at least to such an extent as would let in for consumption a considerable quantity of foreign sugar. If the approach

to a right system—made when the produce of Bengal was admitted at the British plantation duty—had been delayed for only a few years longer, so that we had not yet received increased supplies from that quarter, it is evident that some such measure of relaxation must have been adopted in 1840. Whenever it shall be introduced, such a step will be strongly opposed by our West India sugar-planters, and by many other persons also, who, without much consideration, have chosen to identify a high price of sugar with the happiness of the lately-emancipated slave population of our West India colonies. They are of opinion that the protection afforded to these colonies involves a great moral question—that its maintenance is to the people of England a great moral duty—that the success of the measure of emancipation ought never to be jeopardized for any money consideration—that we have purchased the freedom of the cultivators of sugar at the cost of twenty millions of money; and that having thus converted them from slaves, in which condition their owners were bound to supply their wants, into freemen who must toil for their own support, it would be cruel to place them, in the outset of their career of responsibility, in a worse position than that which they legally occupied at the moment before you gave them freedom. The argument is specious, but a slight examination of facts will serve to convince us that it is without any solid foundation.

In what respect, it may be asked, is the freed negro placed in a worse position than that which he occupied during his period of slavery? If there had been a redundancy of labourers for whom the planter was bound to provide, irrespective of the value of their labour, then indeed their emancipation, which would also have been the emancipation of their former owners, might have

• been accompanied by the evil of comparative destitution. But the reverse of this position is notoriously the fact, and it is because of the insufficiency of labourers and the high wages which they are consequently able to command, that the planters have been so loud in their complaints, for—hitherto at least—it is the planters only who complain, while the labourers are represented as living in comparative luxury. Now, as well as before the emancipation, the only fund from which the negroes must be supported is the produce of their labour, and they must consequently be equally well off—*plus* their liberty—as they were before their freedom was granted. When Parliament voted, and the nation so willingly gave, twenty millions of money to bring about this blessed change in their condition, it was not proposed to give to these our fellow-citizens greater privileges and immunities than are enjoyed by other free labourers; but to argue that a higher price is needed for the products of their labour than the price at which the same products are yielded elsewhere and by others, is to affirm that something more than freedom was designed for them by the generosity of the nation.

The cost to the people of this country of the differential duty on sugar, imposed for the benefit of the English sugar colonies, has become of late extremely burthensome. The cost, exclusive of duty, of 3,764,710 cwt. retained for consumption in 1840 was 9,156,872*l.*, if calculated at the Gazette average prices. The cost of a like quantity of Brazil or Havana sugar of equal quality would have been 4,141,181*l.*, and consequently we have paid in one year 5,015,691*l.* more than the price which the inhabitants of other countries in Europe would have paid for an equal quantity of sugar. This, however, is an extreme view of the case. If our markets

had been open at one rate of duty to the sugar of all countries, the price of foreign sugar would have been somewhat raised, while that from British possessions would have been lowered, but it may be confidently said that even in that case the saving would have been more than four millions of money.

Again, if the public had thus been able to buy sugar at about the average price of the year 1831, we may fairly assume that the average consumption per head would have been as great in 1840 as it was in 1831, and in this case the revenue upon this article would have exceeded the sum received by more than 1,500,000*l*.

The differential duty on foreign sugar in favour of our own sugar colonies is most extravagantly great, and acts, as it was meant to act, as a prohibition against its consumption. The difference, since the addition of 5 per cent. has been made to the customs duties generally, has been 4*l*s. per cwt., or 4½*d*. per lb. When the supplies of sugar from our own colonies exceeded the home demand, this protection was of no practical effect, but of late it has operated to raise the price of British plantation sugar, and thereby, as we have seen, to lessen the consumption. It is desirable as soon as possible to abolish this differential duty altogether, but until that course can be adopted through the advancing intelligence of the public, the Legislature may be induced to continue some advantage to the British sugar-planter. Let us suppose that while the rate upon British plantation sugar continued at 24*s*. per cwt. and 5 per cent. thereon, the produce of foreign plantations had been admitted at 30*s*. per cwt. and 5 per cent., the result to the revenue in the four years, 1837 to 1840, would probably have been as follows :—

	1837	1838	1839	1840
Consumption at the same average rate as 1831 ; viz., 20·11 lb. per head	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.
Quantity imported from British possessions	4,757,151	4,822,617	4,888,082	4,953,546
Difference required to be supplied by foreign sugar, at 30s. per cwt. and 5 per cent.	4,147,177	4,600,793	4,029,955	3,151,991
Revenue that would have been collected if all the British plantation sugar imported had been consumed, and the deficiency supplied by foreign sugar, at the rate of 30s. per cwt.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Revenue actually received	5,891,573	5,853,687	6,123,136	6,808,958
Difference between the revenue received and that which would have been collected	5,026,878	4,993,580	4,627,017	4,664,233
Deficiency of the public income to defray the expeniture	864,695	960,107	1,296,119	2,144,725
	655,760	345,228	1,512,792	1,593,970

It appears from this statement that if the deficient supply of British plantation sugar, during the four years from 1837 to 1840, could have been made good from sugar of foreign growth at the rate of 30s. per cwt., not only should we have avoided all the evils attendant upon a deficient revenue, but we should have had a surplus of 1,157,896*l.* to apply towards the reduction of the National Debt. The difference in the four years to the public income would altogether have exceeded five millions of money.

Coffee.—The facts exhibited by the history of the home or consumption trade in this article are pregnant with lessons of great value as regards taxation. There are but few articles fitted for general use which have been subjected in an equal degree to alternations of high and low duties, and with respect to which we are consequently enabled with equal certainty to trace the effects of taxation in contracting or enlarging the enjoyments of the people, or to mark the comparative advantage thus produced to the Exchequer.

The quantities of coffee consumed in Great Britain in each of the five years of the census, comparing the consumption with the growth of the population, and exhibiting the influence of high and low duties, are shown by the following statement :—

Years.	Number of Pounds consumed.	Rate of Duty per Pound on British Plantation Coffee.		Population of Great Britain.	Average Consumption.		Sum contributed per Head to the Revenue.
—	lbs.	s.	d.	—	lb.	ozs.	d.
1801	750,261	1	6	10,942,646	0	1.09	1½
1811	6,390,122	0	7	12,596,803	0	5.12	4
1821	7,327,253	1	0	14,391,631	0	5.01	6
1831	21,542,264	0	6	16,262,301	1	5.49	8
1841	27,298,322	0	6	18,532,335	1	7.55	10½

It appears from the above statement, that when the duty amounted to 1s. 6d. per pound, the use of coffee was confined altogether to the rich. The quantity used throughout the kingdom scarcely exceeded, on the average, one ounce for each inhabitant in the year, and the revenue derived was altogether insignificant. In the interval between 1801 and 1811 the rate of duty was reduced from 1s. 6d. to 7d. per lb., whereupon the consumption rose 750 per cent., and the revenue derived was increased more than threefold. During the next decennary period the duty was again advanced to 1s. per lb., by which means the progressive increase was checked so as to render the consumption actually less in 1821, taking the increased population into account, than it was in 1811. In 1825 the duty was again reduced to one-half the previous rate, and we see that in 1831 the consumption was consequently increased 14½ millions of pounds, or nearly 200 per cent., the average consumption of each individual being raised from 8 to 21

ounces per annum, while the revenue was increased by 100,000*l*. The duty on coffee, the growth of the British plantations in America, was continued at the same rate until 1842; but as the consumption, after the reduction of duty in 1825, speedily overtook the power of production in those plantations, the quantity used was necessarily limited, until the market-price should be raised so high as to admit the produce of British India, upon which a duty of 9*d*. per lb. was chargeable. This in effect soon occurred. In 1835 the importations from the British West Indies were less than 15 millions of pounds, and the state of the market made it advisable for the dealer to pay the additional duty of 28*s*. per cwt. upon East India coffee, of which 5,596,791 lbs. were thus brought into consumption in that year, but without augmenting the aggregate quantity used. It being thus evident that the supply from our western colonies was incommensurate with the wants of the country, and that even the stimulus of a high monopoly price was ineffectual for its increase, the tariff was modified at the end of 1835 so as to admit coffee, the growth of the British possessions in India, at the low duty of 6*d*. per lb. Upon this the consumption, which had been stationary for the five preceding years, again suddenly started forward, to be again checked by the inadequacy of even the enlarged supply, and the price was, by this virtual monopoly, sustained so high that it became worth the while of merchants to send coffee, the growth of foreign plantations, and which was liable to pay a consumption duty of 1*s*. 3*d*. per lb., to the Cape of Good Hope for reshipment to this country, by which expensive ceremony it became entitled to admission at the modified rate of 9*d*. per lb., or 28*s*. per cwt. beyond that exacted on coffee the growth of British possessions, the difference in the market-price being

more than equal to this, in addition to all the charges of the outward and homeward voyages. The injurious effect of this state of things to the revenue, and its hardship upon the consumer, have at length been met by a further modification of the duties, which will afford temporary relief, but which still leaves an advantage to the British coffee-planter over the foreign producer of 37*s.* 4*d.* per cwt., and it requires no peculiar power of prophecy to foretell, that with respect to this one article at least of extensive use, we must ere long be forced to adopt the only sound system of legislation, and impose one uniform duty without reference to origin, and without any pretence of *protecting* one class of producers against another, to the injury of the general body of consumers, and to the limiting of the trade of the kingdom.

It could not fail to produce a powerful effect upon commercial legislation if we could always count the cost of interferences with the natural course of trade. If it could be shown how great is the waste of property that at all times accompanies attempts to favour some at the expense of the rest, it may be presumed that governments would hesitate before they entered upon so hurtful a course. The following estimate exhibits an amount of capital thrown away as effectually as if it had been cast into the sea, in order to take advantage of the privilege of bringing into consumption, at the duty of 9*d.* per lb., coffee that was otherwise liable to pay 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb.

Freight, insurance, landing, and shipping charges on

	£.	s.	d.	£.
7,080 tons shipped from Europe, at 10 6 8 per ton,				73,160
5,060 „ „ W. Indies, at 4 17 0 „				21,540
5,680 „ „ Brazil, at 4 10 0 „				25,560
2,030 „ „ Java, at 2 0 0 „				4,060

To which must be added for interest, loss of weight, and deterioration of quality, including risk of sea damage, on

	£.	s.	d.		£.
7,080 tons shipped from Europe,	at	3	5	0 per ton,	23,010
10,740 " " { W. Indies }	at	2	10	0 "	26,850
{ & Brazil, }					
					<hr/> £177,180

In estimating the cost, to the consumer, of this round-about operation, it will be correct to assume that the enhancement of price upon the whole quantity used is governed by the highest rate of expense to which any part is subject, since it is evident that if the voyage from Europe were not undertaken, the coffee might be as advantageously sold at an equivalent reduction in price, and this reduced price would determine that of the whole, because there cannot be in any market two prices at the same time for the same article. It appears, therefore, that the price of all the coffee used in this country in 1840 was increased to the consumer by 28s. per cwt.,—the difference of duty, in addition to 13s. 7d. per cwt., the expense of sending coffee from Europe to the Cape of Good Hope and back. This increased price on 28,723,735 lbs. amounted to 533,227*l.*, but the higher duty was received on 14,228,404 lbs., giving an advantage to the Exchequer of only 192,416*l.* If the difference between these amounts were added to the revenue derived from coffee, it would make the rate of duty equal to 10½*d.* per lb. upon the whole quantity consumed, and it is clear that had the consumers been allowed to pay that rate of duty upon every kind of coffee that comes to market, the effect to them would have been the same, while the Revenue would have benefited to the amount of 340,811*l.* If there had been no differential or pro-

protective duty, but all kinds of coffee had been admitted at the duty charged on that of the British plantations, the public would have had the means of expending additionally on the article the above-mentioned sum of 533,227*l.*, which would have purchased very nearly twelve millions of pounds, and thus have added 40 per cent. to the consumption, and nearly 100,000*l.* to the revenue.

These calculations can hardly fail to convince every one of the great importance, commercially, of equal and moderate duties ; but in the particular case of coffee there is another and even a stronger argument in favour of such a system of duties. It was given in evidence before the Committee on Import Duties, which sat in 1840, that since the duty on British plantation coffee was reduced to 6*d.* per lb., there have been a vast number of coffee-shops opened in London, at which working men are served at a low price ; that some of these places are frequented daily by many hundred persons who used formerly to resort for refreshment to public-houses ; that this beneficial change in the habits of working men has been entirely owing to the cheapness of the refreshment obtained, and that any advance in the price which should remove this advantage of comparative cheapness would have the effect of sending the present customers of coffee-shops back to the use of intoxicating liquors.

Tea.—The lessons taught by the facts above detailed, with regard to the consumption of coffee, are abundantly confirmed by the history of our tea-trade. There are not any records in existence to show the consumption of this article in Great Britain only. Until the opening of the China tea-trade in 1833, tea could not be legally imported except into the port of London, where alone the duty was received upon all that was consumed throughout

the United Kingdom. The following comparative statement of the consumption at the periods selected must therefore be considered to apply to Ireland as well as to Great Britain.

Years.	Number of Pounds consumed.	Rate of Duty.	Population of United Kingdom.	Average Consumption.	Contributions per Head to Revenue.
	lbs.			lb. ozs.	s. d.
1801	20,237,753	{ 20 per cent. under 2s. 6d. per lb., and 50 per ct. above }	16,338,102	1 3·75	1 9½
1811	20,702,809	{ 96 per cent. on value }	18,547,720	1 1·10	4 0½
1821	22,892,913	{ 96 per cent. under 2s. per lb., and 100 per ct. above }	21,193,458	1 0·52	3 6
1831	29,997,101	Same as 1821 .	24,029,702	1 3·93	2 9
1841	36,675,667	2s. 1d. per lb. .	26,711,694	1 5·96	2 11

The difference in the proportionate consumption at the above periods is small, when compared with the fluctuations experienced with other articles. During the whole of the time down to 1833, the trade was held as a monopoly strictly in the hands of the East India Company, and the consumption was checked not only by the high duty and the enhancement of the price by reason of the monopoly, but also by the mode of taking the duty according to the sale price, and by which means the monopoly was made to work the twofold injury of increasing both the price and the rate of duty. On the opening of the trade in 1833 it was justly anticipated that the market-price of tea would fall, and consequently that the produce of an *ad valorem* duty would fall likewise, for which reason the *ad valorem* rate was changed for such a fixed duty as, calculating from the consumption of previous years, would yield to the Exchequer an amount of revenue equal to that received in those years.

The consumption of this class of articles affords a very useful test of the comparative condition at different periods of the labouring classes. If by reason of the cheapness of provisions the wages of the labourer afford means for indulgence, sugar, tea, and coffee are the articles to which he earliest has recourse, and his family partake in the sober gratification. On the other hand it will often happen that where the power of buying these things is not enjoyed, the small sum that can still be spared after the purchase of his loaf is bestowed in procuring that stimulating draught which is then more than ever desired, and the man is driven from his cottage to the public-house. We may thus reconcile the apparent anomaly which has been so often remarked, that the Excise revenue maintains its level during even lengthened periods of distress.*

The history of the tea-trade affords abundant proof of the effect produced on consumption by alterations in the rate of duties. In 1784 the duty was 1s. per pound, and 67 per cent. on the value, and the quantity consumed was no more than 4,948,983 lbs. In the following year the rate was reduced to 12½ per cent. on the value, and the consumption rose in that and the two following years as under :—

1785	10,856,578
1786	12,539,380
1787	17,047,054

Similar effects had followed reductions in the duty at former periods. In 1746 a reduction equal to about 2s. per pound caused an increase in the quantity to more than three times that on which duty had been paid in

* For an illustration of this remark, see vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

1745. In 1768 an abatement of 1s. per pound on black tea caused the consumption to increase immediately 80 per cent., and when in 1773 the shilling duty was re-imposed, the consumption fell back to its former scale.

If our commercial relations with China shall be placed upon a secure footing, and a bold measure of reduction in the duty on tea is adopted, can it be doubted, with these historical facts before us, that the Exchequer would soon find an advantage from it, while the trade and manufactures of the country would be proportionately benefited, and the people of this country, the working classes, would have the sum of their rational enjoyments enlarged.

Malt.—The use of malt in this country has fallen off materially during the last hundred years, when compared with the numbers of the people; but it would not be correct to attribute this circumstance wholly to the effect of taxation, although there can be no doubt that the consumption has been materially checked by the duty imposed. The introduction of tea and coffee into extensive use throughout the kingdom must necessarily have interfered with the consumption of beer, and the same effect must have followed the increased use of spirits, only a small proportion of which is distilled from malted grain.

The consumption of malt at various periods of the present century, in the different divisions of the kingdom, has been as follows:—

Years.	Number of Bushels consumed.	ENGLAND &			of spirits in	
		Rate of Duty per Bushel.			one of the most	
		s.	d.		resulted entirely	
1801	18,005,786	1	4½	9,002,893	Geobald Mathew	
1811	25,982,749	4	5½	10,791,118	himself of his	
1821	26,138,437	3	7½	12,298,175	produce a sur	
1831	32,963,470	2	7	13,897,167	2½% gray	
1841	30,956,348	2	7	15,911,725	1.94 ex	
SCOTLAND.						
1801	697,384	0	8½	1,599,068	0.38	0 3½
1811	1,012,236	3	9½	1,805,688	0.56	2 1½
1821	1,305,659	3	7½	2,093,456	0.62	2 2½
1831	4,186,955	2	7	2,365,114	1.77	4 6½
1841	4,056,246	2	7	2,628,957	1.54	3 11½
IRELAND.						
1801	1,030,175	1	6½	5,395,456	0.19	0 3½
1811	2,681,842	2	6½	5,950,917	0.45	1 2
1821	1,949,315	3	6½	6,801,827	0.28	1 0
1831	2,101,844	2	7	7,767,401	0.27	0 8½
1841	1,149,691	2	7	8,179,359	0.14	0 4½
UNITED KINGDOM.						
1801	19,643,345	..		16,338,101	1.20	1 7½
1811	29,676,827	..		18,547,720	1.60	6 10
1821	29,393,411	..		21,193,458	1.38	4 11½
1831	39,252,269	2	7	24,029,702	1.63	4 2
1836	40,505,566	2	7	25,907,096	1.56	4 0
1840	42,456,862	2	7	26,443,495	1.60	4 1½
1841	36,164,285	2	7	26,711,694	1.35	3 5½

It has been already mentioned, that at different periods during the last century the consumption of malt in England was greater, in proportion to the population, than at any subsequent time. The average consumption of each individual in each decennary year, from 1740 to 1790, was as follows:—

1745. In 176
tea caused the
80 per cent., and
re-imposed, the
scale.

our commerce

our commerce	5	4½	9,480,1790	0.36	1802
1812	10	3	10,941,821	0.33	3 5
1821	11	8½	12,296,175	0.33	3 10½
1831	7	6	13,897,187	0.53	3 11½
1838	7	6	15,307,364	0.51	3 10
1840	7	10	15,710,271	0.52	4 0½
1841	7	10	15,911,725	0.51	4 0

SCOTLAND.

1802	3 10½	1,158,558	0.71	2 9
1812	8 0½	1,581,524	0.86	6 11
1821	6 2	2,385,495	1.14	7 0½
1831	3 4	5,700,689	2.41	8 0½
1838	3 4	6,259,711	2.46	8 2½
1840	3 8	6,180,138	2.38	8 8½
1841	3 8	5,989,905	2.28	8 4½

IRELAND.

1802	2 10½	4,715,098	0.86	2 5½
1812	5 1½	4,009,301	0.66	3 4½
1821	5 7½	3,311,462	0.48	2 8½
1831	2 4	8,710,672	1.11	2 7
1838	2 4	12,296,342	1.52	3 6½
1840	2 8	7,401,051	0.90	2 4½
1841	2 8	6,485,443	0.80	2 1½

UNITED KINGDOM.

1802	..	9,338,036	0.56	2 3
1812	..	9,213,795	0.49	3 9½
1821	..	9,822,573	0.46	2 11½
1831	..	21,845,408	0.90	4 3½
1838	..	26,486,543	1.02	4 2½
1840	..	21,859,337	0.82	3 11½
1841	..	20,642,333	0.77	3 10½

Years.

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G.

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The falling off in the consumption of spirits in Ireland in the years 1840 and 1841 is one of the most remarkable events of our day. It has resulted entirely from the efforts of one man, the Rev. Theobald Mathew, a Catholic clergyman, who has availed himself of his power of influencing his fellow-men to produce a sudden change in the habits of vast numbers, reclaiming them from the vice of drunkenness and its accompanying evils to an extent which nothing short of the fact itself could induce us to think possible. "Father Mathew," to use the name by which he is generally known, aware of the command over themselves which many of his countrymen have occasionally exhibited in keeping their vows to abstain for some limited time from the use of intoxicating liquors, has led vast numbers of them to pledge themselves so to abstain, not indeed for all future time, but until they shall formally signify to him their intention of recurring to the use of whisky. Many have been led thus to take up the pledge of abstinence, because they can lay it down again at pleasure; but as the renunciation must be a deliberate act, which can hardly ever be performed at the time when the temptation is upon them, and as some degree of weakness would be implied in that renunciation, the chances are great that it will be postponed from time to time, until the habit of sobriety and the sense of personal respectability and domestic comfort which it brings shall have removed all desire for resuming a course of intemperance. If the change thus brought about shall prove in any degree permanent, Father Mathew must be acknowledged one of the greatest benefactors that the people of Ireland have ever known. The degree in which his influence has extended is apparent from the following figures, showing the quantity of spirits distilled in Ireland, and the

revenue collected thereon, in each of the five years from 1837 to 1841 :—

	Gallons.	Duty.
1837	11,235,635	£ 1,310,824
1838	12,296,342	1,434,573
1839	10,815,709	1,261,832
1840	7,401,051	936,126
1841	6,485,443	864,726

The consumption of colonial and foreign spirits in Scotland and Ireland has at all times been small in comparison with the use of those articles in England. Of late years home-made spirits have almost wholly taken the place of rum and brandy in Scotland and Ireland. Of 2,277,970 gallons of rum and 1,186,104 gallons of foreign spirits on which consumption duty was paid in 1841, there were 2,217,073 gallons of rum and 1,127,849 gallons of brandy and Geneva used in England.

For the reason already assigned in noticing the consumption of British spirits, the years 1801 and 1811 would not afford means for correctly comparing the consumption of different periods, and the results for 1802 and 1812 are accordingly substituted.

RUM.

ENGLAND.

Years.	Gallons.	Rate of Duty per Gallon.		Population.	Average Consumption.	Contribution per Head to the Revenue.	
		s.	d.			s.	d.
1802	2,204,897	9	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	9,490,132	0·23	2	1
1812	3,205,465	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	10,941,821	0·29	4	0
1821	2,166,441	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,298,175	0·17	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	3,479,911	9	0	13,897,187	0·25	2	3
1838	3,029,495	9	0	15,307,864	0·19	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1841	2,217,073	9	4	15,911,725	0·14	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$

SCOTLAND.

Years.	Gallons.	Rate of Duty per Gallon.		Population.	Average Con- sumption.	Contri- bution per Head to the Revenue.	
		s.	d.			s.	d.
1802	468,163	9	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,619,730	0·29	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1812	286,569	13	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,834,465	0·15	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	138,189	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,093,456	0·06	0	10
1831	125,702	9	0	2,365,114	0·05	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1838	86,460	9	0	2,543,961	0·03	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1841	48,523	9	4	2,620,610	0·02	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$

IRELAND.

1802	637,005	5	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	5,451,002	0·12	0	8
1812	283,135	10	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,036,008	0·04	0	5
1821	19,685	12	9	6,801,827	0·003	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	18,984	8	6	7,767,401	0·002	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1838	19,701	9	0	8,055,771	0·002	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1841	12,374	9	4	8,179,359	0·0015	0	0 $\frac{1}{8}$

UNITED KINGDOM.

1802	3,310,065	..		16,560,864	0·20	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1812	3,775,169	..		18,812,294	0·20	2	8
1821	2,324,315	..		21,193,458	0·11	1	6
1831	3,624,597	..		24,029,702	0·15	1	4
1838	3,135,651	..		25,907,096	0·12	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1841	2,277,970	..		26,711,694	0·09	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

FOREIGN SPIRITS.

ENGLAND.

Years.	Gallons.	Rate of Duty per Gallon.		Average Con- sumption per Head.	Contri- bution per Head to the Revenue.	
		s.	d.		s.	d.
1802	1,982,790	11	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0·209	2	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1812	166,018	24	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	0·015	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	969,474	22	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0·079	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	1,217,971	22	6	0·086	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
1838	1,176,252	22	6	0·074	1	8
1841	1,127,849	22	10	0·071	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

SCOTLAND.					
Years.	Gallons.	Rate of Duty per Gallon.		Average Consumption per Head.	Contribution per Head to the Revenue.
		s.	d.		s. d.
1802	356,157	11	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0·219	2 6
1812	21,395	24	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0·012	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	34,601	22	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0·016	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	39,744	22	6	0·017	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1838	38,084	22	6	0·014	0 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1841	40,291	22	10	0·015	0 5
IRELAND.					
1802	92,630	8	6	0·018	0 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
1812	8,280	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0·001	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	9,325	17	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0·001	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	10,483	22	6	0·001	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1838	18,238	22	6	0·002	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1841	17,964	22	10	0·002	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
UNITED KINGDOM.					
1802	2,431,577	..		0·150	1 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1812	195,693	..		0·010	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	1,013,400	..		0·049	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	1,268,198	22	6	0·050	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1838	1,232,574	22	6	0·045	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1841	1,186,104	22	10	0·044	1 0

The diminished consumption of foreign spirits observable in 1812 was occasioned by the war at that time carried on with all the countries of Europe, and which for some time wholly shut out from our ports the produce of France and Holland. The trade has since been resumed without any check except that caused by high duties, and this it will be seen has effectually kept down the consumption. In 1802, with a duty of 11s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per imperial gallon, the average consumption of each person in England somewhat exceeded one-fifth of a gallon; while in 1841, with a duty of 22s. 10d. per gallon, the average consumption was scarcely more than one-third

of that quantity. This high duty was first imposed during the war, and was then intended to act as a prohibition. It would be difficult to assign any good reason for its continuance during the long period of peace that we have since enjoyed. Under the plea of protection to agriculture our legislature has, in modern times, always given an advantage in this respect to home-made corn-spirits; but the unreasonableness of such a protection, when it amounts, as in this case, to three times the duty upon the home-made produce, is such that it would scarcely have been practicable to impose it upon such a plea, although it received a ready and general acquiescence when adopted as a measure of annoyance to an enemy. There can be no doubt, however, that it is this motive of giving a preference to our farmers over the wine-growers of France, or, to speak more correctly, against all other classes of our countrymen, which has prevented the introduction of any modification during all the many years that have passed since the original plea has ceased to operate. The evil is partially counteracted through the agency of contraband traders; but the remedy thus applied should be considered as the substitution of a greater evil, and one for which the legislature may be held morally responsible through the temptation which it offers for the commission of crime.

The revenue derived from the consumption of foreign spirits amounted in 1800 to 1,382,718*l.*, when the rate of duty was 1*l.* 1*d.* per imperial gallon. In 1841, with that rate advanced to 22*s.* 10*d.* per gallon, the revenue has amounted to no more than 1,354,079*l.*; the sum which it should have yielded, according to the increased rate and the additional population, is 3,840,279*l.*, being 2,465,767*l.*, or 179 per cent. beyond the amount really collected.

The calculations which have been here made concerning the consumption of ardent spirits in this kingdom, so far as it can be shown by the revenue accounts, will afford but little satisfaction to many persons who see an intimate connexion between the degree of that consumption and the moral condition of the people. It appears that, taking into account home-made, colonial, and foreign spirits, the average consumption throughout the kingdom is somewhat greater now than it was at the beginning of the century ; and it is hence inferred that the vice of intemperance has gained an accession to the number of its votaries. The particular examination of this subject belongs more properly to another Section of this inquiry, and will not be further entered upon here, except to show that if in the year of the greatest consumption the quantity used had been equally divided among the people, the share of each would have been not quite the tenth part of a gill per diem, a quantity that might be taken with impunity by any one advanced beyond the stage of infancy. It is true there is a very large proportion of people in this country who never taste intoxicating drink ; but it is very possible, and, considering the general progress of society as regards the means of commanding conveniences and luxuries, it is even highly probable, that the number who practise this degree of abstinence is continually becoming less : but it thence by no means follows that an absolute and even a great increase in the general consumption of ardent spirits affords certain evidence of increased intemperance. It might even be that the quantity consumed throughout the country should be doubled, while the general character of the population for sobriety would be improved.

Wine.—Although, as we have seen, the consumption of spirits has increased in a slight degree since the open-

ing of the century, there has not been any corresponding increase in the use of wine, denoting the greater addiction of the people to habits of intemperance. The quantity of all descriptions of wine used in the United Kingdom at different periods, since 1801, has been as follows, distinguishing Great Britain from Ireland :—

GREAT BRITAIN.				IRELAND.		
Years.	Gallons.	Average Consumption.	Duty per Head.	Gallons.	Average Consumption.	Duty per Head.
		Galls.	s. d.		Galls.	s. d.
1801	5,838,592	0·533	3 7½	1,038,118	0·207	0 9½
1811	4,884,062	0·387	3 5½	745,660	0·125	0 10½
1821	4,180,474	0·290	2 6	520,584	0·076	0 7½
1831	5,454,737	0·335	1 7½	757,527	0·096	0 5½
1838	6,504,038	0·364	1 9½	696,838	0·086	0 5½
1841	5,582,385	0·301	1 7½	602,575	0·073	0 4½

The average consumption, and the amount of duty contributed per head, in the whole kingdom, in the same years, were—

	Average Consumption.	Duty per Head.
		s. d.
1801	0·431 gallons.	2 8½
1811	0·304 „	2 7½
1821	0·221 „	1 10½
1831	0·255 „	1 3½
1841	0·267 „	1 4½

The rates of duty per imperial gallon have been as follows :—

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		IRELAND.	
	French.	Other Kinds.	French.	Other Kinds.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1801	10 2½	6 9¾	6 1½	3 11
1811	13 8½	9 1½	10 6	7 0½
1821	13 9	9 1½	13 9	9 1½
1831	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6
1841	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6

The extent to which the people of this country are accustomed to the use of wine cannot be considered commensurate with their general power to obtain the conveniences of life. The consumption was in former times much greater in proportion to the population than it has been of late years. In 1700 the average annual consumption of each individual in England and Wales amounted to a very small fraction below an imperial gallon, while at present it scarcely exceeds one-fourth of that quantity. There can be but one cause assigned for this change—excessive duties. In France, where wine may be had in almost every part of the kingdom at a low price, and where, except a trifling “octroi” levied in the towns, the produce of the vineyard is nearly duty free,—the average annual consumption is equal to rather more than 19 gallons by each individual, or more than 70 times the consumption of the United Kingdom. One effect of our high duties has been to confine importations to the finer kinds of wine, which are consequently within the reach of only the easy classes; to the working man wine is altogether denied. There is a great deal of excellent wine made in Provence and Languedoc, better adapted to the English taste generally than the finest wines of Medoc, and which could be sold with a good profit to the importer for less than sixpence per bottle, independent of duty. If the rate of this duty were fixed so low as to admit of the sale by the retailer at one shilling per bottle, it cannot be doubted that the consumption would be very much increased, and that a great addition would be made to the innocent enjoyments of the people. It would still be practicable to levy the present high rate of duty upon wines of the first quality, the production, and necessarily therefore the consumption, of which are limited, independently of the duty. It is said to be im-

practicable to levy distinct rates of duty upon different qualities of the like article, and that the imposition of a duty according to the value assigned by the importer might open the door widely to fraud ; but it has, on the other hand, been suggested that every difficulty of this nature may be obviated by fixing maximum and minimum rates of valuation, within which the declarations of the merchant must be made, and by giving to the officers of the customs the right to purchase the wine at the usual advance of 10 per cent. upon the declared value, whenever they may consider that value to be much below what the wine is actually worth.

It appears from official accounts printed by the French government, that the quantity of wine made in France in years of ordinary or average production amounts to 924,000,000 imperial gallons. Of this quantity 24,530,000 gallons are exported to foreign countries, only a very small proportion of which is consumed in this kingdom. The population of Denmark, which does not equal the number of the inhabitants of our metropolis, consume more French wine than the entire population of the United Kingdom. In former times the taste of Englishmen led them to a far greater proportionate use of French wine, but by the ill-judged Methuen Treaty, concluded in 1703, whereby we bound ourselves to impose 50 per cent. higher duties on the wine of France than on that of Portugal, a great change in this respect was gradually brought about, so that the consumption of French wine was in time reduced to a quantity altogether insignificant. The Methuen Treaty ceased to operate in 1831, and thenceforward the duty charged upon wines the growth of all foreign countries has been equalized. The proportionate consumption of French wine has since increased ; but, in a case of this kind, time

is required in order to bring about a change in the public taste, and many years will probably elapse before we can expect by any such means to destroy the preference that has long been given to the strong and highly-branded wine of Portugal.

The quantity of French wine of all qualities sold for consumption in the United Kingdom in each year, since the peace, and the rates of duty chargeable, have been as follows:—

	Galls.	Per Gallon.			Galls.	Per Gallon.	
		s.	d.			s.	d.
1815	200,918	13	8½	1829	365,336	7	3
1816	123,567	,,		1830	308,294	,,	
1817	145,972	,,		1831	254,366	5	6
1818	259,178	,,		1832	228,627	,,	
1819	213,616	13	9	1833	232,550	,,	
1820	164,292	,,		1834	260,630	,,	
1821	159,462	,,		1835	271,661	,,	
1822	168,732	,,		1836	352,063	,,	
1823	171,681	,,		1837	438,594	,,	
1824	187,447	,,		1838	436,866	,,	
1825	525,579	7	2½	1839	378,636	,,	
1826	313,707	7	3	1840	341,841	,,	
1827	311,289	,,		1841	353,740	,,	
1828	421,469	,,					

The increased rate of consumption in the last five years of the series gives no greater proportion than one gallon per annum among 60 people. The consumption of Holland amounts to one gallon per head, the highest government and municipal duty paid in any city of that country being equal to 2s. 5¼d. per gallon. In Amsterdam the duties amount to 8d. per gallon, and in Rotterdam wine is consumed free of duty.

Beer.—It would have afforded a more satisfactory view of the progress of consumption with regard to fermented liquors and spirits, if the quantity could have been stated of

various kinds of beer used at the different periods in this country chosen for comparison. This it is not possible to do for any period later than 1829, as the beer duty was wholly repealed in 1830, so that a great proportion of what was made in that year did not enter into the revenue accounts, the only records in which such information can be found.

The number of barrels of strong beer and of table and small beer consumed in England and Wales was,—

	Strong Beer.	Table and Small Beer.	Rates of Duty per Barrel.		
			Strong.	Table.	Small.
In 1801	4,735,574	1,691,955	8s.	3s.	1s. 4d.
1811	5,902,903	1,649,564	10s.	3s.	
1821	5,575,830	1,439,970	"	"	
1829	6,559,210	1,530,419	9s.	1s. 11½d.	

The produce of the duty on the above quantities, and the average consumption and amount of duty paid per head in England and Wales were—

	Produce of Duty.	Average Consumption.	Average Amount of Duty.	
	£.	Gallons.	s.	d.
1801	2,048,695	21·76	4	4½
1811	3,116,407	25·19	5	9½
1821	2,931,912	20·53	4	9½
1829	3,217,812	21·10	4	8

These figures do not afford a true statement of the consumption of beer by the people, because the duty was paid, and consequently the account was taken, only with reference to that which was brewed for sale, no duty having ever been charged on beer brewed in private families. It was proposed, in the budget brought forward by Lord Henry Petty in 1807, to subject private families equally to payment of the duty, but such was the amount of selfish clamour raised against this proposal that it was

necessarily abandoned. It would no doubt have been an exceedingly vexatious thing for private families to be subject to the visitation of excise-officers, and without such surveillance it would not have been possible to prevent a very general evasion of the tax; but this objection leaves untouched all considerations arising from the glaring injustice of the tax, which was necessarily paid by every poor man in the country who consumed beer, while all other classes had the means of relieving themselves from the burthen. There can therefore be no question that the tax as levied was bad in principle, and that the government acted properly in repealing it. The measure, when brought forward, was popular with all parties; with the labouring classes because of its cheapening one of their chief luxuries, and with the members of the legislature because of the rise which it necessarily occasioned in the prices of some kinds of farming produce.

The duty on beer in Scotland has, since the Union in 1707, been the same as was charged in England; but the consumption in that part of the kingdom, which was always greatly below the proportion in England, has been comparatively insignificant during the last half century. The number of barrels charged with duty in Scotland in 1829 was 366,166, of which 247,443 barrels, or two-thirds, were small beer. The yearly consumption of both qualities amounted therefore to $5\frac{1}{3}$ gallons for each inhabitant, and the duty paid by each averaged 8*d*. It has been shown that the difference in this respect between England and Scotland is compensated by the greater use of spirits in the latter division of the kingdom. No duty was ever charged on beer in Ireland.

Since 1785 brewers of beer for sale have been obliged to take out an excise licence, for which they have been

subjected to an annual payment in proportion to the quantity brewed. This system of obliging manufacturers of, and dealers in, commodities chargeable with excise duties to take out licences, was adopted with the twofold object of bringing the parties more directly under the survey of the revenue officers with the view of preventing frauds, and of adding directly to the public revenue by means of the charge made for the licence. There have been so many changes made in the regulations, whereby additional classes have at various times been embraced, and the charges made for licences have been so altered, that it would not afford any information concerning the progress made in this branch of manufacture to state the number of licences that were taken out in different years. Some information on this subject has been given in a former Section of this work, when treating of the "occupations of the people."*

* Vol. i. pp. 69, 70.

CHAPTER V.

TOBACCO. Consumption at different Periods—Effects of increased Duties—Encouragement to Smuggling—Complaints of high Duty on the part of the Producers in the United States of America—Threatened Retaliation—Probable Consequence of such a Course. **PAPER.** Quantity made for Use at different Periods—Injudicious Nature of the Tax on this Article—Growing Use of Paper—Effect of Reduction of Duty—Rapid Extension of Sale by Repealing the Duty on Almanacs. **SOAP.** No Means of distinguishing its Use for Personal Purposes from that caused by Manufacturing Processes—Frauds caused by the Duty—Impolicy of Imposing a Duty on Soap—Mischief of Excise Regulations—Annual Consumption of Soap at various Periods. **COTTON MANUFACTURES.** Estimated Consumption. **SILK MANUFACTURE.** Estimated Consumption—Effect of high Protecting Duties—Proportion of Silk Goods introduced by Smugglers. **LINEN AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES.** Difficulty of estimating the Value used. **IRON.** Increased Use of this Material. **COPPER.** Quantity used. **TIN.** Quantity used at various Periods during the present Century. **TIMBER.** Quantity imported for Use in different Years afford insufficient Data for estimating the Use of Timber generally—Consumption of the Metropolis—Cattle—Sheep—Coals—Gas Lighting.

Tobacco.—THE quantity of this plant upon which consumption duty is paid is considerably less at the present time, taking the kingdom throughout and making allowance for the increased population, than it was at the beginning of the present century. This fact is clearly attributable to the increase made in the rate of duty. In great towns and among the easy classes, and especially among our young men whose expenditure is least likely to be carefully regulated as regards minor luxuries, the

smoking of tobacco is probably much greater now than it has been at any earlier period. The falling off in the consumption is principally experienced in Ireland, where the smoking of tobacco has long been a chief luxury among the working classes, and where, considering the few comforts that usually fall to their lot, its diminution betokens a great degree of privation. Contrasting 1839 with 1801, it will be seen that the average use of tobacco in Ireland is only one-half what it was at the beginning of the century, and although the rate of duty is now about three times what it was in 1801, the contribution per head to the revenue has advanced only 75 per cent. In Great Britain, where the condition of the people generally has been more satisfactory than in Ireland, the consumption per head is now about equal to what it was at the beginning of the century, and the contribution to the revenue has consequently been more in agreement with the increased rate of the duty.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Pounds Weight consumed. lbs.	Duty per Pound.		Amount of Duty. £.	Average yearly Con- sumption. ozs.	Average Contribution to the Revenue.	
		s.	d.			s.	d.
1801	10,514,998	1	7 $\frac{6}{20}$	923,855	15·37	1	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1811	14,923,243	2	2 $\frac{13}{20}$	1,710,848	18·95	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	12,983,198	4	0	2,600,415	14·43	3	7 $\frac{3}{8}$
1831	15,350,018	3	0	2,338,107	14·84	2	9 $\frac{7}{8}$
1841	16,830,593	..		2,716,217	14·52	2	11 $\frac{1}{8}$

It is made evident by these figures that the duty of 4s. per lb. was excessive. The advance to that rate from 2s. 2d. caused a diminished consumption to the extent of one-fourth, and the revenue per head which, had the consumption not been lessened, would have been 4s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., amounted to only 3s. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ d.

IRELAND.

Years.	Pounds Weight consumed.	Duty per Pound.		Amount of Duty.	Average yearly Con- sumption.	Average Contribution to the Revenue.	
		s.	d.			s.	d.
1801	6,389,754	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	285,482	18.95	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1811	6,453,924	1	7	552,082	17.35	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	2,614,954	3	0	528,168	6.15	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	4,183,823	3	0	626,485	8.61	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1841	5,478,767	3	0	863,946	10.71	2	0

UNITED KINGDOM.

1801	16,904,732	..	1,209,337	16.05	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1811	21,376,267	..	2,262,930	18.44	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821	15,598,152	..	3,122,583	11.77	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	19,533,841	..	2,964,930	12.85	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1841	22,309,360	..	3,580,164	13.36	2	8

One great evil that attends upon exorbitant taxation on this article of consumption, is the encouragement that it gives to smuggling. The amount of the duty is so vastly out of proportion to its value, that the contraband dealer can afford to lose several ventures if he can succeed in safely disposing of one.

The high rates of duty charged on tobacco in various European countries have been felt as a grievance by some of the States of the American Union, and threats have for some time been used, that unless an alteration be made in those rates, retaliatory measures will be taken, and heavy duties placed upon some of the staple manufactures of Europe when imported into the United States. This very ineffectual but by no means uncommon method of meeting the case has very recently been adopted by the American Congress. The result of the new Tariff of the United States will in all probability be to limit the sales as well as the purchases of America, and instead of causing an increased vent for tobacco, to

diminish it by lessening the means which foreigners have for buying.*

Paper.—It would give a very wrong view of the progressive use of paper in the several divisions of the kingdom, if the calculations were made from the produce of the duty in those divisions. The manufacture of paper is carried on in certain localities, whence it is distributed over every part of the kingdom, so that English-made paper finds its way to Scotland and Ireland. The parliamentary volumes do not contain any statement of the quantity of paper brought to charge with the Excise earlier than 1803 in the present century, which year is therefore inserted in the following comparison, instead of 1801.

Years.	Pounds of Paper Charged with Duty.	Amount of Revenue. £.	Revenue paid by each Individual. d.	Duty per lb. on First Class Paper. d.
1803	31,699,537	394,824	5½	3
1811	38,225,167	477,414	6½	3
1821	48,204,927	579,867	6½	3
1831	62,738,000	728,860	7½	3
1841	97,103,548	637,255	5½	1½

The duty on paper was first imposed in 1711 by the Act 10 Anne, c. 19, which recites, as a reason for the tax, “the necessity of raising large supplies of money to carry on the war,” and surely it required a case of strong necessity to justify the imposition of a tax which tended so directly to impede the progress of knowledge among the people. That it must have had this effect is evident from the statement here given. While the duty on first-class paper, which includes writing and printing paper, was continued at 3d. per lb., the

* An illustration of this position, in the words of Dr. Franklin, will be seen in vol. ii. p. 327, of this work.

increased quantity used was, considering the increase of the population, very insignificant. The quantity used at the different periods, if equally divided among the population, would have been—

	lbs.	
1803	1·92	for each individual.
1811	2·06	"
1821	2·27	"
1831	2·54	"
1838	3·47	"
1839	3·58	"

The reduction of the duty took effect only in October, 1836, and cannot be expected to have yet produced its full effects. The degree in which it has already stimulated consumption may be seen from the following account of the quantities used in each of the eight years, 1834 to 1841 : viz.—

	lbs.
1834	70,605,889
1835	74,042,650
1836	82,108,947
1837	88,950,845
1838	93,466,286
1839	97,643,823
1840	97,237,358
1841	97,103,548

Previous to 1836 the paper duty was charged on two classes or qualities, of which the first class paid 3*d.* and the second class 1½*d.* per lb. Not any change has been made in the rate charged on the second-class paper, but the duty on the first class has been assimilated to it, and thenceforward the Excise officers have not made any distinction between the two qualities. The duty having been continued at the same rate upon common paper, it is not likely that much increase in the quantity used will have taken place; but if we even calculate that an

increased quantity, to the amount of 10 per cent., has been used since 1835, this will leave 31 per cent. increase upon first-class paper in little more than two years from the reduction of the duty. That the progressive increase experienced up to 1839 has not continued beyond that year, is no doubt attributable to the condition of commercial stagnation, which has lessened the power of expenditure among a large class of persons who can economize in the purchase of books without exciting the attention of the circle in which they move.

There is reason for supposing that the public may hereafter obtain, more even than hitherto has been the case, advantages from the reduction of duty. The sudden demand consequent upon the alteration in 1836 caused for a time an increase in the price of the principal materials of which paper is made, but this advance has not since been maintained; and there can be no doubt that, stimulated by the higher price, larger quantities of those materials will in time find their way to the English market, or, what is equally probable, other materials may be found applicable to the purpose, and at a lower price, so that the cost of paper may in time be reduced in even a greater proportion than has hitherto followed the reduction in the rate of duty.

The number of licences taken out by paper manufacturers has been as follows:—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
1801	413	33	No account kept in Ireland.	
1811	527	48		
1821	564	55	47	666
1831	507	54	59	620
1841	370	49	48	467

The price per ream of printing paper, of one particular description, has been—

								s.	d.
1801	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	36	0
1808	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40	0
1811	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	35	0
1821	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	27	6
1831	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	24	0
1841	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17	0
1843	(January)	.	.	.	.	.	.	15	6

The effect of high duties in limiting the use of books may be inferred from the rapid extension caused to the sale of almanacs through the repeal of the stamp-duty of *1s. 3d.* It was stated in the Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, that 200 new almanacs were started immediately upon the repeal, of some of which upwards of 250,000 copies were sold within a short period, although the old ones maintain their ground; and Moore's Almanac for the year 1835 is stated to have actually doubled its former sales.

Some part of the increased manufacture of paper must be ascribed to the great reduction made in 1836, in the stamp-duty on newspapers, the effect of which will be more fully described in a future section of this volume.

Soap.—The use of this article is in some degree dependent on the growth of manufactures, since it is extensively employed in many processes, and in this country is increasingly so employed. The actual consumption for personal and household purposes cannot therefore be accurately known without first ascertaining the quantity otherwise disposed of, no particular statement of which has been given in any parliamentary papers. An allowance is made for the duty on soap used in the silk, woollen, cotton and linen manufactures; but these do not comprise the whole of the manufacturing processes into which soap enters. It is, besides, impossible to make any true estimate of the quantity used generally,

because of the intervention of the contraband maker. It is known that frauds upon the revenue are thus committed to a great extent, not so much perhaps as was done before the reduction of the duty in 1833 ; but the degree in which that reduction was calculated to affect the fraudulent maker by reducing his profits, has been since in part countervailed by simplifications in the process, which have lessened at once the expenses of the manufacture and the chances of detection. That frauds to a great extent are committed by the surreptitious production of soap, may be believed from the fact, that there are 50 persons in England who each take out an annual licence, the charge for which is 4*l.*, and who do not pay duty to the Excise on a greater quantity than one ton in the course of the year, leaving room for suspicion that the licence is used as a cover for fraudulent processes. There are besides great numbers of persons who make soap secretly, and without taking out any licence, and who consequently pay no duty whatever. The manufacture can be successfully carried on in any cellar or small room, with very inartificial apparatus ; and so long as the rate of the duty offers any temptation, it is much to be feared that there will always be persons in whom the desire of gain will be strong enough to lead them to engage in the secret manufacture. It appears doubtful whether it can ever be desirable to extract a revenue from soap, the use of which among the people should be encouraged on moral considerations, and which should also lead the legislature at all times to withdraw from those contests with breakers of the law, in which the government is sure to be worsted.

The Excise regulations, which it may be presumed are necessary for the protection of the revenue, so entirely prevent improvements in the processes, that the

quality of soap made in foreign countries, where no such regulations are imposed, is invariably superior to that of English soap, and unless to our own colonies and dependencies, we cannot be said to have any export demand for British-made soap. We pay an import duty on the chief ingredient used in the manufacture which is not returned on that part which is exported, and our duties are so regulated that our manufacturers are in a great degree restricted to the employment of a material which is not calculated to produce soap of the finest quality. The manufacturers of Marseilles use almost exclusively olive oil, while ours are chiefly restricted to the use of tallow, which produces an article so inferior in quality that the preference is given in foreign countries to almost any soap over that made in this kingdom; and this is especially the case where the article is used in manufacturing processes.

After these remarks it will be understood that the following statement regarding the use of soap is not to be taken as correct, although it is as much so as public documents will admit.

Years.	No. of Pounds of Soap Consumed.	Rate of Duty.	Quantity Consumed per Head.	Amount of Duty Contributed per Head.	No. of Licensed Makers.
1801	52,947,037	{ 2½d. per lb. hard }	lbs. 4·84	s. d. 0 11½	624
1811	73,527,760	{ 1½d. „ soft }	5·83	1 1½	522
1821	92,941,326	{ 3d. per lb. hard }	6·43	1 7½	363
1831	103,121,577	{ 1½d. „ soft }	6·23	1 6½	532
1841	170,280,641	{ 1½d. per lb. hard }	9·20	1 1½	344
		{ 1d. „ soft }			

The progressive decrease in the number of licensed makers, until they are now little more than one-half as many as in 1801, is a very remarkable circumstance, and one for which it is difficult to assign a sufficient reason.

Candles.—The quantities of different kinds of candles used in England and Scotland, at different periods in the present century, were as follows :—

	Tallow.	Wax.	Spermaceti.	Total.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
England. — 1801	62,854,082	549,385	47,011	63,450,478
1811	73,166,119	633,942	103,469	73,903,530
1821	88,951,626	697,196	165,647	89,814,469
1829	109,425,509	744,536	303,683	110,473,728
Scotland. — 1801	3,548,602	..	..	3,548,602
1811	4,737,025	..	..	4,737,025
1821	4,864,720	..	..	4,864,720
1829	5,731,299	1,516	..	5,732,815
Gt. Britain.—1801	66,402,684	549,385	47,011	66,999,080
1811	77,903,144	633,942	103,469	78,640,555
1821	93,816,346	697,196	165,647	94,679,189
1829	115,156,808	746,052	303,683	116,206,543
1830	115,586,192	1,265,113		116,851,305

The rates of duty throughout the whole period were, on candles made of tallow, 1*d.* per pound ; made of wax or of spermaceti, 3½*d.* per pound. No excise duty on candles has ever been charged in Ireland. The amount of revenue in the above years from this source was as follows :—

	£.
1801	275,660
1811	328,892
1821	395,911
1829	489,059
1830	482,413

The duty on candles ceased from the 1st January, 1832. The Act by which it was repealed was passed in September, 1831, and materially influenced the amount of the manufacture during the last quarter of that year, since no one, with the knowledge of its ceasing, would make a greater quantity than would be required for use

during the continuance of the duty. For this reason the quantity returned to the Excise in 1831 was only 103,374,860 lbs., and the revenue 470,659/.

During all the time that an excise duty was levied upon candles, it may be said that there was no improvement made in their quality; and it is probable that had the duty not been repealed the regulations enforced by the revenue officers would have continued to prevent any such improvements. No sooner, however, were the manufacturers relieved from the restraints thus imposed, than their ingenuity was set to work, and each year that has since elapsed has produced one or more inventions or combinations, whereby the essential good qualities of candles have been increased, and their cost, relatively to, their value in use, diminished.

Woven Fabrics.—The statements already given in these volumes, in describing the progress of some of our chief manufactures, make it unnecessary to go into much detail in regard to the consumption of woven fabrics. The rapid and enormous increase which has been exhibited in these branches of our industry must serve to convince everybody who at all considers the subject how impossible it is to fix any limit to the powers of consumption under circumstances favourable to their development, and how unreasonable it must be to suppose that any degree of extension to which we may hitherto have arrived can be taken as the measure of what, under higher degrees of prosperity, may hereafter be attained.

In a manufacture like that of cotton, where the goods produced differ so exceedingly in quality that the value of a pound weight varies from a few pence to a great many shillings, it is extremely difficult to make an approach even to the capital employed and the value produced in the course of the year. In the statement

made by Mr. M'Culloch, in his 'Commercial Dictionary,' already quoted in this work,* the entire annual value of the manufacture is given as 34,000,000*l.* Mr. Baines makes the value 31,388,693*l.* in the year 1833, when the weight of material used was 282 millions of pounds. Of this value the part exported amounted to 18,459,000*l.*, leaving for the goods consumed at home 12,879,693*l.* If we were to follow the same mode of calculation for the year 1841, making the increased value proportionate to the increased quantity of the raw material employed, the value of cotton goods used at home would be as follows :—

437,000,000 of pounds of cotton taken by the manufacturers, assuming the cost and the charges of manufacture to be the same per pound as in 1833,	£.
would amount to	48,641,343
From which deduct the value of yarn and goods exported.	24,668,618
Leaving for home use	<u>£23,972,725</u>

This estimate is probably beyond the truth, but it can only be so either because of the adoption of further improvements in the manufacturing processes, which, by reducing their cost, have placed this description of fabrics more within the reach of the labouring classes in this and other countries, or because of the depressed condition of the labouring classes, which has obliged them to buy coarser and lower-priced articles.

It does not appear, from the statement of our exports, that any very great economy was introduced into the manufacturing processes of cotton between 1833 and 1841. It may certainly be that the quality of the goods shipped to foreign countries has been better in the latter

* Vol. i. page 257.

than it was in the former year; but if this were not the case, the difference in the cost did not much, if at all, exceed 10 per cent., calculated on the prices of 1833. In that year the number of yards of cotton cloths exported was 496,352,096, and the declared value 12,451,060*l.*, or a very small fraction over sixpence per yard. In 1839 the number of yards shipped was 731,450,123, and the declared value 16,378,445*l.*, being on the average 5½*d.* per yard, or five-eighths of a penny less than in 1833.

If the value of cotton goods consumed within the kingdom in 1840 bore the same proportion to the whole manufacture as the calculation of Mr. Baines assigns to the consumption of 1833, then the value of the 531 millions of pounds used in 1840 could not have been much beyond 41 millions of money; so that while the quantity of the material was increased 88 per cent., the value was increased at the rate of only 33 per cent. It may help to explain this difference, without assuming that the processes of manufacture have been economized to the extent just mentioned, if we call to mind the fact that, whenever the means of the people are limited, their purchases, where necessaries are concerned, are made of coarser and therefore heavier goods; so that in times of comparative distress there may be a larger consumption of the raw material, accompanied by an abridgment of the labour employed, and a diminished value of the goods produced.

The progress of the silk manufacture, and of the use of fabrics of that material in this country, up to the year 1835 inclusive, have already been stated.* The quantity of raw and thrown silk employed by the manufacturers since that time has been—

* Vol. i. page 254.

1836	4,533,455 lbs.
1837	3,731,403
1838	3,837,951
1839	3,638,397
1840	4,082,613
1841	3,413,356

The value of silk goods produced cannot be estimated on an average below 60s. per lb. ; the sum annually spent on these fabrics within the kingdom is therefore considerably above 12,000,000*l.*, if we include those imported of foreign manufacture. In the early years of the century the expenditure under this head was not more than one fourth part of that sum ; and although the use of silk garments had greatly increased when the restrictions were removed under which the manufacture had been kept, with a view to its encouragement, yet the yearly value did not then exceed one-half that of the present consumption. It was a bold measure on the part of the government of that day, in the face of so much prejudice as existed, to remove the prohibition to import foreign silk goods, which prohibition had always been declared indispensable to the existence of the manufacture in England. The good effect of the change was made immediately apparent by the increased quantity of the material employed ; and at the present time it may be affirmed that, through the extension of the use of silks to nearly all classes, the manufacture is rendered in a great measure safe from the ruin with which it was formerly threatened at every change of fashion. Its condition would long since have been still more favourable if, instead of the enormous protecting duty of 30 per cent. imposed upon the importation of foreign silk goods, a reasonable rate of duty had been adopted ; and even if our silk manufacturers had been left without the so-called

"protection" of any duty at all, there does not appear reason to doubt that it would not only have much its ground among our principal branches of industry, but that the skill of our artisans would have enabled them successfully to rival those of other countries.

If there be any foundation for this assertion, the existing "protection" must be considered exceedingly costly to the nation. It enhances by the whole rate of the import duty the price of all the goods made at home, and is therefore equal to a yearly tax of nearly four millions of money levied upon the community without yielding any proportionate advantage to the Exchequer, or even to the trade for the supposed benefit of which it is kept up. That English made silk goods are actually dearer by all the amount of the duty than the like goods of foreign make, is proved by the fact of large importations of such goods being made from abroad. That but for the enervating effect of the protection they need be dearer, it would be very difficult to show. We have the raw material, one quality with another, as cheap as our rivals can procure it. We have better machinery, capital in abundance, and manufacturing skill and commercial combinations which, applied to unprotected branches of industry, set those of all other countries at defiance. If we are behind them in any respect, it is in the possession of taste in the invention of patterns and the combination of colours; but that this want of taste is not inherent in the people, is proved by the fact, that the handsomer imported designs of the French manufacturers are always, as soon as seen, preferred to our own. Make it apparent to the English manufacturer that he must enter the field of competition on equal terms with his rival, and this disadvantage would soon be overcome.

There is another great evil attendant upon the present high rates of duty. Being beyond the cost of smuggling, a very large proportion of the silk goods shipped from France for England find their way into use without passing through the Custom House. The following statement shows the extent to which this contraband trade has been carried on since the markets of England were opened to foreign manufacturers. In the course of fifteen years, from 1827 to 1841, more than fifty parts in one hundred of the silk goods shipped from France to England have been smuggled.

Years.	Exported from France to England. lbs.	Entered at Custom Houses in England. lbs.	Quantity shipped more than entered. lbs.	Centesimal Proportions.	
				Entered.	Not entered.
1827	224,880	104,040	120,840	46·26	53·74
1828	335,051	156,216	178,835	46·62	53·38
1829	211,842	115,918	95,924	54·72	45·28
1830	289,034	119,826	169,208	41·45	58·55
1831	303,642	149,187	154,455	49·13	50·87
1832	312,877	146,665	166,212	46·87	53·13
1833	351,085	148,196	202,889	42·21	57·79
1834	317,508	175,562	141,946	55·29	44·71
1835	298,780	168,772	130,008	56·45	43·55
1836	283,646	179,977	103,669	63·45	36·55
1837	268,164	166,723	101,441	62·17	37·83
1838	393,085	244,626	148,459	62·23	37·77
1839	505,236	255,245	249,991	50·52	49·48
1840	625,317	267,477	357,840	42·77	57·23
1841	624,269	254,120	370,149	40·70	59·30
				<hr/>	<hr/>
				5,344,416	2,652,550
				2,691,866	49·63
					50·37

The duty received on 2,668,543 lbs. of silk manufactures during the above 14 years amounted to 2,693,349*l.*, which is at the rate of 20*s.* 4*d.* per lb. During the same period the regular importations from France amounted to 2,652,550 lbs. weight; and if the whole of this quantity

were included in the weight on which duty was paid, it must have yielded to the revenue 2,674,655*l.* This sum, if collected upon the whole quantity shipped from France to England, would have been equal to a very minute fraction more than 10*s.* per lb. The trade of the smuggler would in all probability have been prevented, as regards silk goods, if the duty had been fixed at 10*s.* per lb., which would still have been a very high protecting duty, and the revenue would have been as great at the lower as it has proved at the higher rate, while the gain to the consumers in England would have been 10*s.* 2*d.* per lb. in the price of the manufactures produced and imported. These have amounted to 69,817,357 lbs., including all qualities, which gives a sum of 35,490,490*l.* lost to the great bulk of the community, through the operation of excessive duties placed for the supposed benefit of only one branch of manufactures, and which those engaged in it have continually declared to be in a condition of adversity.

The quantities of our linen goods that are used within the kingdom can only be conjectured, since the materials employed are in great part of domestic production, and no means exist for determining their quantity. The improvements already noticed in the spinning of flax have most importantly reduced the price of our linens; but as a reduction fully as great has been effected in the cost of cotton goods, it is doubtful whether the use of linen has been therefore much or at all increased. There is from year to year an increased demand on the part of our manufacturers for foreign-grown flax; and its consequent enhancement of price occasions much dissatisfaction to the linen weavers of Belgium, whence our chief supply of fine flax is drawn. Concurrently with this state of things, our exports of

linen have very greatly increased, and, it may be, have absorbed all the additional quantity of material; but this is a question which it is not possible in any way to determine.

The remarks here made concerning linen apply in great part to woollen goods also. There is a continually increasing importation of the material from abroad, but we are left wholly to conjecture concerning the home production. As in the linen manufacture, the processes used by our clothiers have also been economized, and the prices of their goods have been much reduced; but increased consumption, which, under other circumstances, would be the almost necessary consequence, may not have been experienced beyond that required by our greater numbers, because of the still greater cheapening of other articles which may be in great part substituted for woollen garments.

Iron.—The increased use of iron in this country during the present century has been truly extraordinary. The importations of this metal at the beginning of this century amounted to about 40,000 tons yearly, and the quantity made at home was under 150,000 tons. It was given in evidence, by Sir John Guest, before the Committee of 1840 on Import Duties, that in the year 1806 the quantity of iron made in the kingdom was increased to 258,000 tons; that in 1823 the quantity produced was 452,000 tons; in 1825 it had reached 581,000 tons; and in 1828 the quantity was 703,000 tons. At this point the manufacture remained stationary for a few years, but in 1831 it again began to advance, and in 1835 the quantity made was estimated on good grounds at a million of tons. In the following year the estimate was 1,200,000 tons, and in 1840 it reached 1,500,000 tons. A statement was prepared in

October of that year by one of our most intelligent iron-masters,* giving the number of furnaces in blast and out of blast, and the number of tons of iron made at each work in *Great Britain*. It was there shown that the annual product, exclusive of Ireland, amounted to 1,396,400 tons; the number of furnaces in blast was 402, of which number 162 used the process of blasting with hot air. The manufacture was in this statement divided as follows among the various divisions of the kingdom, and an estimate was offered of the quantity of coal used in the manufacture, viz. :—

	Tons of Iron Made.	Tons of Coal Used.
Forest of Dean	15,500	60,000
South Wales	505,000	1,436,000
North Wales	26,500	110,000
Northumberland	11,000	38,500
Yorkshire	56,000	306,500
Derbyshire	31,000	129,000
North Staffordshire	20,500	83,000
South Staffordshire	407,150	1,582,000
Shropshire	82,750	409,000
Scotland	241,000	723,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,396,400	4,877,000
Coal used in converting to wrought iron		2,000,000
		<hr/>
	Tons . .	6,877,000

The commercial depression, which has continued in an aggravated degree since Mr. Jessop's statement was compiled, has led our iron-masters to diminish the scale of their operations in order thereby to lessen their losses. A statement has since been drawn up, under the direction of an association of the Yorkshire and Derbyshire iron-masters, showing the quantity of iron made during the

* Mr. Jessop, of Butterley, in Derbyshire.

first six months of 1842, in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, South Wales, and Scotland, as under :—

	Tons.
Yorkshire	23,471
Derbyshire	13,795
Staffordshire	151,130
Shropshire	40,643
South Wales	158,715
Scotland	135,460

Together . . . 523,214 tons,

equal to 1,046,428 tons per annum. The quantity made in the above divisions of the kingdom, in 1840, according to Mr. Jessop, was 1,343,400 tons,—showing a diminished production at the rate of 296,972 tons, or more than 22 per cent.

Assuming the data of Sir John Guest for the quantity of this metal made within the kingdom, and using parliamentary returns for the quantities imported and exported, we arrive at the following result as relates to home consumption, during the years just mentioned :—

Year.	British Iron Made. Tons.	Foreign Iron Used. Tons.	British Iron Exported. Tons.	Hardware Exported. Tons.	Remained for Home Use. Tons.
1806	258,000	27,411	36,925	4,629	243,657
1823	452,000	9,667	46,413	10,375	404,879
1825	581,000	14,977	34,372	10,980	550,625
1828	703,000	13,984	65,139	12,100	639,745
1835	1,000,000	17,571	199,007	20,197	798,367
1836	1,200,000	18,920	192,352	21,072	1,005,496
1840	1,500,900	13,263	268,328	14,985	1,229,940
1841	1,500,000	17,653	360,875	17,667	1,139,111

This rapid and great increase, shown in the last few years, has been in some part caused by the economy introduced through the use of the hot-blast in smelting, a process which has materially lowered the cost of iron,

and therefore has led to its employment for many purposes in which its use was previously unknown.

Among the new employments found for this the most useful of all metals, must be mentioned ship-building. Iron was first used about the year 1810 for the construction of vessels employed in canal and river navigation. After this, the first similar employment of this material occurred in 1820, when a steam-vessel called the "Aaron Manby" was constructed at the Horsley Iron-works, and made the voyage between the capitals of England and France without unlading any part of her cargo. This vessel is still in good condition, although 22 years old, never having required any repairs to her hull. In 1825 a small iron steam-boat was placed on the river Shannon, where she is now employed, in good condition. In 1832, "The Elburkah," an iron steam-vessel, built by Messrs. Macgregor Laird, and Co., in Liverpool, made the voyage from that port to the coast of Africa, and twice ascended the river Niger. This successful experiment led to the construction of many other iron steam-vessels. One builder, Mr. John Laird of Birkenhead, near Liverpool, has built 45 iron vessels of the aggregate burden of 12,600 tons. The total number launched since 1830 is said to exceed 150. The largest iron vessel yet finished, and in use, is the "Gaudaloupe," a steam-frigate of 788 tons, carrying 68-pounders, and belonging to the Mexican government; but her dimensions are insignificant when compared with those of the "Great Britain," now building, and nearly finished, at Bristol.

The length of this vessel, from her figure-head to the tafrail, is	} 320 feet,
The breadth of beam	51 "
The depth of her hold.	31 "
Her draught of water, when loaded, is calculated to be	} 16 "

and her burden 3500 tons. The engines will have a force equal to that of 1000 horses, and will be used to keep in action, as the means of propulsion, an Archimedean screw. The draft of water will be seen not to exceed that of a first-class West Indiaman. At present this vessel can only be considered as an experiment; and, should it fail, an abundance of ridicule will no doubt be cast upon the projectors by men whose genius would hardly have sufficed for the invention of a wherry.

A great part of the steam navy of the East India Company consists of iron vessels, 25 of which are now in use in India, among which are the "Nemesis," the "Phlegethon," the "Ariadne," and the "Medusa,"—names well known to the British public from the conspicuous part which the vessels have performed in the war with China.

The advantages of iron over timber, for naval architecture, are—the absence of "wear and tear" in the hull—no necessity for caulking or coppering—no possibility of injury from dry-rot—greater lightness and increased capacity—and, what is of even far more importance, greater safety. This last point has sometimes been questioned, but not by any one having knowledge on the subject. When a timber-built ship takes the ground with any violent shock, the whole frame-work of the vessel is strained, and in a measure dislocated,—so that by the mere buffeting of the waves she will, in all probability, soon be made a complete wreck; but when an iron-built vessel strikes, however violent the blow, it is only the part that is brought into collision with the rocks that will be injured. The plan of building these ships in water-tight compartments then proves its efficacy; for should the injury amount even to the tearing away of plates, the resulting mischief will only be to fill with water that particular compartment of the vessel to which

the injury has occurred, so that the ship will be scarcely less buoyant than before; and experience has shown that damage of this kind is easily repaired.

The first cost of iron vessels is somewhat, but not much, less than that of timber-built vessels: their comparative cheapness results from their greater durability: after years of constant employment they are found to be as sound and as clean as when first built. Their weight, upon which depends the displacement of water, is—as a general rule—three-fifths the weight of wooden vessels of the same capacity. The weight of metal used in proportion to the burden of the ship varies, of course, with the size. A sea-going iron steam-vessel will take from nine to twelve cwts. of iron per ton register. Boats intended for river traffic, which do not require an equal degree of strength, of course take a less weight of metal.

The building of iron ships is fast becoming an important branch of national industry; it is one in which our mineral riches and our great mechanical skill will secure to us a virtual monopoly.

The average price of pig-iron of the same quality in Glasgow, in each year from 1835 to the present time, has been as under:—

	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.	
1835	4	2	6	per ton..	1840	3	18	0	per ton..
1836	6	13	0	„	1841	3	7	6	„
1837	4	12	0	„	1842	2	10	0	„
1838	4	10	0	„	1843 (Jan.)	2	5	0	„
1839	4	5	0	„					

Copper.—The quantity of copper used at different periods during the present century has been as follows, if we assume that which is not strictly true in any individual year, but which must be true taking one year with another, viz.,—That the quantity remaining of the whole produce, after the shipments to foreign countries are deducted, is used at home. The produce of all the

copper mines in the kingdom is not known for any year earlier than 1820; but as the quantity raised from mines other than those of Cornwall has been, since that year, equal to one-fifth of the produce of the Cornish mines, that proportion has been added to the accounts of Cornish copper.

	Copper Raised.	Exported.	Retained for Use.	Excess Exported.
	<u>Tons.</u>	<u>Tons.</u>	<u>Tons.</u>	<u>Tons.</u>
1801	6,318	4,825	1,493	
1802	6,274	6,348	..	74
1803	6,739	4,554	2,185	
1804	6,450	2,935	3,515	
1805	7,481	3,007	4,474	
1806	8,234	2,343	5,891	
1807	8,059	3,374	4,685	
1808	8,154	3,028	5,126	
1809	8,185	3,458	4,727	
1810	6,818	2,902	3,916	
1811	7,137	2,413	4,724	
1812	8,697	3,334	5,363	
1813	9,789	records destroyed.		
1814	9,523	3,035	6,488	
1815	8,028	5,099	2,929	
1816	8,454	5,207	3,247	
1817	7,299	6,647	652	
1818	8,057	6,077	1,980	
1819	8,657	4,824	3,833	
1820	8,127	6,098	2,029	
1821	10,288	6,271	4,017	
1822	10,018	5,683	4,335	
1823	9,679	5,326	4,353	
1824	9,705	5,305	4,400	
1825	10,358	3,931	6,427	
1826	11,093	4,799	6,294	
1827	12,326	7,171	5,155	
1828	12,188	6,206	5,982	
1829	12,057	7,976	4,081	
1830	13,232	9,157	4,075	
1831	14,685	8,530	6,155	
1832	14,450	9,730	4,720	

	Copper Raised.	Exported.	Retained for Use.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1833	13,260	7,811	5,449
1834	14,042	8,886	5,156
1835	14,474	9,111	5,363
1836	15,369	8,076	7,293
1837	15,310	7,129	8,181
1838	13,958	7,459	6,499
1839	14,672	7,687	6,985
1840	13,022	5,926	7,096

If the quantities are distributed into decennary periods, it will be seen that the average quantity yearly retained for use was :—

	Tons.
1801 to 1810	3,694
1811 to 1820	3,472
1821 to 1830	4,912
1831 to 1840	6,290

Tin.—It is not possible to furnish any correct account of the quantity of tin retained for home use, because there are no means whereby we can ascertain the quantity of that metal which is used in the manufacture of various articles exported.

Timber.—The use, at different epochs, of timber, an article of such general application, exhibits forcibly the comparative progress and industry of a people. In the years chosen for the exemplification of our condition in those respects, as shown by the consumption of some principal articles of use and consumption, the quantity of “timber eight inches square and upwards,” of colonial and foreign growth, used in the United Kingdom, was as follows :—

	Colonial.	Foreign.	Total.
1801	3,099	158,770	161,869 Loads.
1811	154,282	124,766	279,048 „
1821	317,563	99,202	416,765 „
1831	127,199	418,879	546,078 „
1840	639,014	168,804	807,818 „
1841	613,679	131,479	745,158 „

These quantities are exclusive of all kinds except square timber. It would be useless to bring forward the like statements with regard to all the forms under which wood is imported, such as deals, battens, and staves, the quantities of which will most probably vary nearly in the same proportions as timber.

It results from these figures that the increase has been—

Between 1801 and 1811	72	{ per cent., the increase of population having been }	$13\frac{1}{2}$	per cent.
„ 1811 and 1821	49	„ „	$14\frac{1}{2}$	„
„ 1821 and 1831	31	„ „	$14\frac{3}{4}$	„
„ 1831 and 1841	36	„ „	$13\frac{1}{2}$	„

Comparing 1801 with 1841, it will be seen, that while the increase of the population is $64\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the use of imported timber has increased 360 per cent.

Much uncertainty must always attend upon computations affecting the consumption of articles which, like timber, are partly furnished from our own soil, and respecting the home production of which we are without any means of calculation.

It is impossible to estimate, with anything approaching to exactness, the consumption of the metropolis. Accounts are given of the number of cattle and sheep sold in the markets, but we should greatly mislead ourselves by taking these accounts alone as our guide in the matter. A large quantity of slaughtered meat is brought for sale to the London markets from various and distant parts of the kingdom, and especially in the winter months, when meat killed at Newcastle and Edinburgh is so brought in great abundance.

The quantity thus conveyed for the consumption of the metropolis by steam-vessels during the cooler season of the year has been ascertained to be as follows :—

From Berwick, 12 tons weekly for 6 months, chiefly mutton.

Aberdeen, 10	„	6	„
Dundee, 17	„	6	„
Leith, 30	„	7	„
Glasgow, 20	„	7	„

Inverness, 50 tons during the year.

The steam-vessels from Berwick, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Inverness, bring also large numbers of live stock—oxen, sheep, and swine; and further numbers of these animals are brought by sailing-vessels. On one occasion the steam-vessel from Aberdeen brought 184 fat bullocks to London.

Even the live animals which are included in the returns do not comprise all which are brought to be slaughtered, many both of oxen and sheep being sold in London and the immediate suburbs before they reach the markets; and, on the other hand, butchers who carry on their business in some of the neighbouring towns are accustomed to attend at Smithfield market to make their purchases. With all this uncertainty, it would be idle to expect that any accurate statement can be offered on this subject.

This difficulty is not experienced in an equal degree with regard to many towns on the continent of Europe, where every article of provisions that enters is subjected to a town-duty or *octroi*, and an accurate account of the quantities must be kept at the barriers. But even in these cases the record cannot be relied on as strictly accurate at all times. It is well known that in Paris, in time of scarcity, when it is more than ordinarily needful for the labouring population of these places to economize their means of living, many families go beyond the barriers in order to take their meals, and thus avoid the payment of *octroi* duties altogether.

The accounts kept by the Excise officers of the quantities of different articles sent by permits from the stocks

of manufacturers and wholesale dealers, might be supposed to give some idea of the consumption of the district; but the fact is, that London dealers supply great numbers besides the London population, and the records of the Excise officers therefore give a very exaggerated view of the consumption of the metropolis. For the same reason, no inference should be drawn from the quantity of foreign goods cleared for consumption at the London Custom House, a great part of which goods are afterwards distributed to different places in the kingdom.

Of the Excise duty collected during the years 1837 to 1839 in England, twelve per cent., or very nearly one-eighth, was furnished by the metropolitan district.

The numbers of cattle and of sheep sold in Smithfield market in each of the twenty-two years from 1821 to 1842 were:—

Years.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Years.	Cattle.	Sheep.
1821	129,125	1,107,230	1832	158,640	1,257,180
1822	142,043	1,340,160	1833	152,093	1,167,820
1823	149,552	1,264,920	1834	162,485	1,237,360
1824	163,615	1,239,720	1835	170,325	1,381,540
1825	156,985	1,130,310	1836	164,351	1,219,510
1826	143,460	1,270,530	1837	172,435	1,329,010
1827	138,363	1,335,100	1838	183,362	1,403,400
1828	147,968	1,288,460	1839	180,780	1,360,250
1829	158,313	1,240,300	1840	177,497	1,371,870
1830	159,907	1,287,070	1841	166,922	1,310,220
1831	148,168	1,189,010	1842	175,347	1,468,960

Coals.—The coals brought to London during the same years have increased materially in quantity, owing partly to the introduction of gas-lighting, and partly also to the great extension of the employment of steam-vessels.

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1821	1,744,914	1827	1,874,610
1822	1,667,307	1828	1,893,083
1823	1,936,891	1829	2,095,420

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1824	1,982,032	1830	2,116,023
1825	1,921,091	1831	2,053,673
1826	2,103,498	1832	2,149,820
1833	2,014,804	1838	2,582,770
1834	2,080,547	1839	2,638,256
1835	2,299,816	1840	2,589,087
1836	2,399,551	1841	2,902,674
1837	2,629,321	1842	2,754,719

It is proper, under this head, to notice briefly the invention, or to speak more correctly the introduction, of gas-lighting, as one of the great economical improvements of the present century. The discovery of an inflammable gas in coal which might be applied to the purpose of illumination was made during the seventeenth century, but it was not until the year 1804 that this discovery was turned to any practical account. In that year, a patent was taken out for an apparatus applicable to the purpose by Mr. Winsor, who, by his lectures and experiments, overcame by degrees the ridicule with which his plans were at first assailed, and prepared the way for the success of other persons having greater scientific and mechanical knowledge than himself.

This invention was first applied to the lighting of cotton mills and other manufactories, but was soon largely adopted in London and the chief provincial towns in the kingdom. At this time, although only about thirty years have elapsed from its first successful introduction, gas-lighting is employed in every town of importance in England and Scotland, and in many of the larger towns of Ireland. It has not been possible to obtain any minute data for estimating the quantity of coals now applied to this purpose in the United Kingdom, but it is probably within the truth to say that the annual consumption in all the gas establishments amounts to between 500,000 and 600,000 tons.

It appears worthy of remark, that notwithstanding this large consumption, which has in a great degree superseded the use of oil for street-lighting, the aggregate consumption of whale oil has very materially increased. This fact is of course referable to the fashion now become very general of burning table-lamps in the place of candles in our dwellings; but it must excite surprise in the mind of every one when first made acquainted with the fact, that during this time the use of candles in dwellings, and especially of wax candles, has also increased in a greater proportion than the population. It has been suggested, and with much apparent reason, that this increase may be consequent upon the greater brilliancy of the streets since they have been lighted with gas, since we have thus been made dissatisfied with the quantum of light previously thought sufficient within our houses. Certain it is, that our apartments are much more brilliantly lighted now than they were before the introduction of coal-gas, whether that invention be chargeable with the increase or not.

During the first few years after its adoption, very large sums were spent in making experiments with the hope of bringing this mode of lighting to perfection, and to a certain extent those experiments were successful. It can hardly be said that much improvement has been made in the art during the last twenty years, although the spirit of invention is by no means quenched, and projectors are continually offering plans for economizing the cost of the processes, but it may reasonably be expected that the invention has not so soon after its adoption reached the utmost limit of perfection.

There is perhaps no article of daily use, scarcely even excepting food, which it is more important to the population of the United Kingdom to obtain at a moderate

price than coal, the cost of which enters more or less into the price of almost every article of consumption. There can be no doubt that any proposal on the part of the government to impose an Excise duty upon this necessary of life would meet with the most determined and general opposition, as being oppressive to the poor and injurious in various ways to the prosperity of nearly every branch of the national industry. It is therefore hardly conceivable that the people of England, generally so much alive to their personal interests, should submit, as they do, without a murmur, to the imposition of a virtual tax upon their fuel, far greater in degree than it is likely that any minister would ever be tempted, even under the heaviest financial difficulties, to propose. The tax to which allusion is here made is not less a tax because it assumes the guise of a trade regulation ; it is even more injurious, by reason of the uncertainty of its rate, than any fixed impost could be. This regulation has probably existed so long because of the ignorance of the public concerning its operation, which ignorance would not have attended upon the imposition of a direct tax. With the view of making another attempt to remove this cause for the continuance of a very heavy burthen, the following brief description of the regulation in question is offered.

The "limitation of the vend" has existed, with some partial interruptions, since the year 1771. This arrangement is no less than a systematic combination among the owners of collieries having their outlets by the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees, to raise the price of coal to consumers by a self-imposed restriction as to the quantity supplied. A committee appointed from among the owners holds its meetings regularly in the town of Newcastle, where a very costly establishment of clerks

and agents is maintained. By this committee, not only is the price fixed at which coals of various qualities may be sold, when sea borne, for consumption within the kingdom, but the quantity is assigned which, during the space of the fortnight following each order or "issue," the individual collieries may ship. The manner in which this combination is conducted, and the effect which it must have upon the interests of the consumers, will best be understood by describing the course pursued upon the opening of a new colliery. The first thing to be determined in that case is the rank or "basis" to be assigned to the colliery. For this purpose, one referee is appointed by the owners of the colliery, and another by the coal-trade committee, who, taking into view the extent of the royalty or coal-field secured, the size of the pits, the number and power of steam-engines erected, the number of cottages built for workmen, and the general scale of the establishment, fix therefrom the proportionate quantity the colliery shall be permitted to furnish towards the general supply, which the directing committee shall from time to time authorize to be issued. The point to be attained by the owners of the colliery, is to secure for their establishment the largest basis possible; and with this view it is common for them to secure a royalty extending over from five to ten times the surface which it is intended to work, thus burthening themselves with the payment of possibly 5,000*l.* per annum, or more, of "dead rent" to the owner of the soil, who, of course, exacts such payment in return for his concession, although his tenants may have no intention of using it. Instead of sinking one or two pits, which would afford ample facility for working the quantity which the mine is destined to yield, a third and possibly a fourth pit are sunk at an enormous expense, and without

the smallest intention of their being used. A like wasteful expenditure is made for the erection of useless steam power, and to complete and give an appearance of consistency to the arrangements, instead of building 200 cottages for the workmen, double that number are provided. In this manner a capital of 160,000*l.* to 200,000*l.* may be invested for setting in motion a colliery which will be allowed to raise and sell only such a quantity of coals as might be produced by means of an outlay of one-fourth or one-fifth of that amount. By this wasteful course the end of the colliery owners is attained; they get their basis fixed—if it is a large concern, as is here supposed—say at 50,000, and this basis will probably secure for them a sale of 25,000 chaldrons during the year, instead of 100,000 chaldrons, which their extended arrangements would enable them to raise. The Newcastle committee meet once a fortnight, or twenty-six times in the year, and, according to the price in the London market, determine the quantity that may be issued during the following fortnight. If the London price is what is considered high, the issue is increased, and if low it is diminished. If the “issue” is twenty on the 1000, the colliery here described would be allowed to sell (20×50) 1000 chaldrons during the ensuing fortnight. The pit and establishment may be equal to the supply of 3000 or 4000 chaldrons; orders may be on the books to that extent or more; ships may be waiting to receive the largest quantity, but, under the regulation of the “vend,” not one bushel beyond the 1000 chaldrons may be shipped until a new issue shall be made. By this system the price is kept up; and, as regards the colliery owners, they think it more for their advantage to sell 25,000 chaldrons at 30*s.* per chaldron, than to sell 100,000 chaldrons at the price which a free

competition would bring about. They may be right in this calculation; but if, under the system of restriction, any undue profit is obtained, nothing can be more certain than that competition for a portion of this undue profit will cause the opening of new collieries until the advantage shall be neutralized; and this result of the system is already fast approaching. Every new colliery admitted into the "vend" takes its share in the "issues," and to some extent limits the sales of all the rest. The disadvantage during all this time to the public at large is incontestable. The great staple manufactures of the country, being located in inland coal districts, happily do not suffer from this combination; but in other innumerable processes which require the aid of heat, and which are carried on in cities and places where coal is not found, the addition to the cost of fuel thus occasioned must place the manufacturers at a great disadvantage, while the other inhabitants of those cities, and especially the poor, are very greatly injured by it. The loss to the community at large through the unprofitable investment of unnecessary capital no one can dispute.

There is another consequence resulting from this limitation of the home coal-trade which it is necessary to state, as it is productive of great national evil.

The owners of collieries being restricted in their fortnightly issues to quantities which their establishment enables them to raise in three or four days, are naturally desirous of finding for their men during the remainder of the time some employment which shall lessen the expense of maintaining them in idleness, and spread over a larger quantity of product the fixed expenses of their establishments and their *dead rents*. To this end coals are raised which must find a sale in foreign countries; and it practically results that the same quality of coals which, if shipped to London, are charged at 30s. 6d.

per Newcastle chaldron, are sold to foreigners at 18s. for that quantity, giving a preference to the foreign buyer of 40 per cent. in the cost of English coal. By this means the finest kinds of coal which are used in London, at a cost to the consumer of about 30s. per ton, may be had in the distant market of St. Petersburg for 15s. to 16s., or little more than half the London price. Nor is this the worst effect of the system. In working a colliery a great proportion of small coal is raised. The cost to the home consumer being exaggerated, and the freight and charges being equally great upon this article as upon round coal, very little small coal finds a market within the kingdom, except on the spot where it is raised; and as the expense of raising it must be incurred, the coal-owners must of course seek elsewhere for a market at any price that will exceed the mere cost of putting it on board ship. By this means "nut coal," which consists of small pieces, free from dust, which have passed through a screen, the bars of which are five-eighths of an inch apart, are sold for shipment to foreign countries at the low price of 3s. per ton. The intrinsic quality of this coal is quite as good as that of the round coal from the same pits; it is equally suitable for generating steam, and for general manufacturing purposes; and thus the manufacturers of Denmark, Germany, Russia, &c., obtain the fuel they require, and without which they cannot carry on their operations, at a price not only below that paid by English manufacturers, but for much less than the cost at which it can be raised. The coal-owner might, it is true, sell this small coal at home at a better price than he obtains from his foreign customer, but every ton so sold would take the place of an equal quantity of large coal, upon which his profit is made, and by such home sale he would by no means lessen his sacrifice, but the reverse.

In this way every person who uses sea-borne coal in Great Britain is exorbitantly taxed for the advantage of the rival manufacturers of other countries. This, it is true, does not enter into the intentions of the owners of collieries, and there is no doubt that this result is an effect of their combination which they must regret. Does not this afford us another lesson of the inconveniences which are sure to attend upon all such unnatural arrangements, the advantages of which to their promoters are seldom of a lasting character? At this time there are many owners of collieries included in the regulation of the vend, who regret that it was ever established, but who feel compelled to adhere to it from fear of the certain losses that must attend upon its abandonment, and who are therefore anxious to put off as long as possible the (to them) evil day, when the trade in this article of indispensable daily consumption shall be restored to its natural freedom.

It may be thought an easy thing to ascertain the consumption of food by families, and thence to determine the average quantities used by individuals, and the aggregate for the whole kingdom. Any one who may attempt to procure this information will, however, soon find greater difficulties in his way than he has anticipated. Very few persons keep any adequate records of their expenditure; and with those who do preserve them, such a variety of circumstances must be taken into consideration before the experience of individual families, placed in some circumstances or other of peculiarity, can be assumed as affording a test of the average expenditure, that a very rough approximation to the fact is all that we can reasonably expect to attain.

Not having been allowed in every case to mention the sources whence the following statements have been

derived, the names of the parties and establishments are wholly suppressed, but every reliance may be placed in their entire accuracy.

No. 1. In a private family residing in a fashionable part of London, and consisting of a gentleman, his wife, six children, and ten servants; in all 18 persons, two-thirds of whom were adults, the consumption in the year 1840 amounted to—

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
6,668 lbs. meat, or for each person	1·014916 lb.	370½ lbs.
5,100 „ bread „ „	0·776255 „	283½ „
541 „ butter „ „	1·317505 oz.	30½ „
1,887 qts. milk „ „	0·287214 qt.	104½ qts.

In the following year the family was reduced to 17 persons by the discharge of one of the servants, and the consumption of the year was as follows :—

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
5,820 lbs. meat, or for each person	0·937953 lb.	342½ lbs.
3,668 „ bread „ „	0·591136 „	215½ „
586 „ butter „ „	1·511039 oz.	34½ „
1,782 qts. milk „ „	0·287187 qt.	104½ „

It would be difficult to account for the different rates of consumption observable in the statements of these two consecutive years. The only apparent differences in the conditions are, that there was one male servant discharged, and each of the six children was a year older, and therefore probably a larger consumer of solid food, and yet we see that the consumption of meat and of bread was less by 848 lbs. and 1,432 lbs. respectively; whence it would appear (making no account of the altered ages of the children) as if the discharged servant had consumed on an average more than six pounds of bread and meat daily, while the average consumption of the remaining 17 persons did not much exceed one-fourth of that quantity. It is evident that there must be

some disturbing cause that does not appear; and hence we may learn how little reliance is to be placed upon averages drawn, even with the greatest carefulness, from small numbers.

No. 2. In a large trading establishment in the city of London, consisting of 114 persons, males and females, all adults, there was consumed in 1841—

	Daily.	In the Year.
34,914 lbs. of meat, being per head	0·839077 lb.,	or 306½ lbs.
and 40,464 lbs. of bread	0·972461 „	„ 355 „

In this establishment, as well as in the family above described, the quantities consumed were at the discretion of the individual members. This may not have been the case with the following institutions, into the management of which a control of the expenditure would necessarily enter, so at least as to prevent waste, but without stinting.

No. 3. In an asylum consisting of 9 superintendents and servants, and 158 female children, together 167 persons, the consumption of 1841 consisted of—

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
16,625 lbs. meat, or for each person	0·272742 lb.	99½ lbs.
41,690 „ bread „ „	0·683947 „	249½ „
1,456 „ rice „ „	0·023886 „	8½ „
3,360 „ flour „ „	0·055122 „	20½ „
1,780 „ butter „ „	0·029201 „	10½ „
1,335 „ cheese „ „	0·021901 „	8 „
21,848 „ potatoes „ „	0·358428 „	130½ „
13,201 qts. milk „ „	0·216569 qts.	79 qts.
16,272 „ beer „ „	0·266951 „	97½ „

The average consumption of solid food in this asylum appears therefore to be 527½ lbs. in the year, or within a very small fraction indeed of 1½ lbs. daily for each person.

No. 4. In another asylum, having an average number of 290 inmates, chiefly children of both sexes, the consumption during the year was—

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
46,415 lbs. meat, or for each person	0·438497 lb.	160 lbs.
90,780 „ bread „ „	0·857628 „	313 „
62,720 „ potatoes „ „	0·529536 „	216½ „

The greater consumption in this case, 26 per cent. beyond that of No. 3, is probably occasioned by the circumstance of one-half of the institution being composed of males.

No. 5. Another asylum, on the establishment of which were 139 persons, chiefly young persons of both sexes, consumed in the year—

For each person	236 lbs. of meat.
„ „	473 „ bread and flour.
„ „	23 „ butter.
„ „	21½ „ cheese.
„ „	206 „ potatoes.
„ „	63 quarts of milk.
„ „	63 gallons of beer.
„ „	12 quarts of oatmeal.
„ „	9½ lbs. of sugar.
„ „	3 „ tea.

The expenditure in this case appears to be on a scale of great liberality, if indeed it do not go beyond that quality and exhibit profusion. The quantity of bread and meat consumed by each inmate is considerably greater than that of the family No. 1, in which there was neither the same motive, nor equal means, for the exercise of carefulness. The quantity of solid food consumed is 80 per cent. beyond that of No. 3, and 40 per cent. beyond that of No. 4. The cost per head, for food alone, in this institution, is stated to have amounted in the year to 15*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*, being 6*s.* 0¼*d.* per week.

No. 6. An asylum containing, on the average of the year 1841, 116 persons, 10 of whom were adults and 106 male and female children, consumed—

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
12,083 lbs. meat, or for each person	0·285380 lb.	104½ lbs.
33,488 „ bread „ „	0·790930 „	288¾ „
3,360 „ flour „ „	0·079357 „	29 „
5,824 „ potatoes „ „	0·137553 „	50½ „
1,402 „ cheese „ „	0·033113 „	12 „
520 „ butter „ „	0·012281 „	4½ „
2,207 gallons milk „ „	0·208502 qts.	19 galls.

The consumption here detailed is nearly the same in average quantity as that of No. 3. The proportions of meat and bread are rather greater, and of potatoes less, and it is probable that the nutritive power of the food is in both cases nearly equal.

No. 7. This is a large public establishment, containing an average number throughout the year of 646 male persons, chiefly boys. The consumption during 1841 was—

Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
779 1 8 meat, or for each person	0·365104 lb.	133¼ lbs.
2,218 0 6 bread „ „	1·053700 „	384½ „
69 2 18 flour and oatmeal	0·032245 „	11¾ „
153 3 8 cheese „ „	0·073034 „	26½ „
765 0 0 potatoes „ „	0·358716 „	131 „
62 2 6 butter „ „	0·029718 „	10⅞ „
59 1 24 green vegetables „ „	0·028249 „	10½ „
16 1 0 raisins „ „	0·007720 „	2¾ „
9,540 gallons milk „ „	0·160338 qt.	58½ qts.
12,888 gallons beer „ „	0·218670 „	80 „

The consumption in this case of solid food amounts to 711 lbs. per annum, or within a small fraction of 2 lbs. daily (13 lbs. 11 ozs. per week.) Judging from the other cases brought forward, this must be considered a very liberal dietary.

No. 8. Another large establishment, in which the children are younger than those in No. 7, and where a small proportion are females. It consisted of 365 males

and 67 females. In the course of the year 1841 they consumed—

Cwts.	qrs.	lbs.		Per Diem.	Per Annum.
483	3	1	meat, or for each person	0·343048 lb.	125½ lbs.
1,193	1	1	bread „ „	0·846175 „	309 „
49	2	4	flour and oatmeal	0·035127 „	12½ „
54	1	16	cheese „ „	0·038571 „	14 „
354	0	0	potatoes „ „	0·251032 „	91½ „
31	2	23	green vegetables „ „	0·022483 „	8½ „
25	3	21	butter „ „	0·018393 „	6½ „
11	3	8	raisins „ „	0·008383 „	3 „
			10,665 gallons milk „ „	0·270102 qts.	98½ qts.
			6,631 gallons beer „ „	0·167937 „	61½ „

Considering the different circumstances already noticed, this consumption may be considered equal to that of No. 7. Both institutions are under the same management.

CHAPTER VI.

PRICES.

Effect of Prices upon Consumption—Cost of Ship-building in 1805 compared with the Cost in 1836—Prices of Beef and Mutton—Of various Articles of Clothing—Prices of Dress at Chelsea Hospital.

THE effect of variations in price, as occasioned by additions to or reductions of duties upon the consumption of particular articles, has been sufficiently shown in the preceding Chapter. The ultimate limit of consumption, as already stated, is the power of production ; since it must be quite evident, on the one hand, that no more can be consumed than is produced ; and equally evident on the other hand, that men will not continue to produce an article in quantities beyond what will be demanded at a price sufficient to replace the cost of production, together with the ordinary rate of profit.

The power to use and to consume has always been practically limited only by inability to command the means of purchasing,—a cause which, in some degree or other, has been always in operation as regards the most numerous portion of every community. The proportionate consumption in a country at various periods forms therefore a very good help by which to estimate its comparative prosperity.

Some accidental causes, such as a change of fashion, may occasion more or less of certain commodities to be used ; but this will not affect the general consumption of all commodities. If from some such cause more of one kind are purchased, there will be less of others ; and the variation of demand thus induced will, if continued for a

sufficiently long time, determine the employment of a greater or less amount of industry for the production of the articles affected. It is not by such means, however, that permanent variations of price are brought about. Except in a modified degree, and occasioned by other causes into which it is not now necessary to inquire, such variations can only occur through variations in the cost of production or the charges of distribution. If (other things remaining equal) the cost of producing a yard of cloth be reduced one-half by improvements in the processes of manufacture, there will thenceforward be at least an equivalent increase in the quantity used, not so much because every wearer of cloth will be less careful of his garments, as because a larger class of consumers will be enabled to purchase.

Permanent alterations of price are always indicative of variations equally permanent in the cost of production or transmission ; and as, in the progress of manufacturing industry, it most commonly, nay, universally happens that processes are simplified and labour economized, the uniform tendency has thence been to a progressive increase of consumption. It may be sufficient on this head to refer the reader to the second Section of this work, in which the progress of improvements and consumption has been traced with respect to several principal branches of our manufacture. The object now in view is not to write a scientific treatise, but to bring forward some facts that may be useful for confirming or correcting the theories of others, and for showing in a practical manner the different results that have followed in various cases from legislative interference.*

* If it be required to know the fluctuations that have occurred in the prices of various descriptions of merchandise, recourse may be had to the Appendix to Mr. Tooke's 'History of Prices,' in which the

Estimate of the Expense of Materials and Labour for building a 74-Gun Ship, of 1706 Tons, given to the Navy Board, 5th January, 1805, by Messrs. Wells, Brent, Barnard and Roberts, Dudman, and Pitcher, compared with the cost in 1836.

	Cost in 1805.			Cost in 1836.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Timber—Oak . . . 2,400 loads	7	10	0	18,000	0	0
Elm . . . 80 "	6	0	0	480	0	0
Fir . . . 45 "	5	10	0	247	10	0
Knees . . . 230 "	10	10	0	2,415	0	0
Thick stuff, 5-inch and upwards . . . 364 "	14	0	0	5,096	0	0
4-inch plank . . . 120 "	13	0	0	1,560	0	0
3-inch ditto & under . . . 150 "	11	0	0	1,650	0	0
East Country plank . . . 150 "	13	0	0	1,950	0	0
Deals—3-inch . . . 360 "	1	16	0	648	0	0
2½-inch . . . 180 "	1	10	0	270	0	0
2-inch . . . 180 "	0	18	0	162	0	0
1½-inch, 20 ft. . . 500 "	0	7	0	175	0	0
1-inch . . . 300 "	0	5	6	82	10	0
4-inch . . . 300 "	0	3	6	52	10	0
Elm board, 1,000 feet	0	1	10	15	0	0
Sawyers' labour, per hundred . . .	0	1	10	2,559	0	0
Shipwrights' ditto . . . per ton	4	0	0	6,824	0	0
Labourers' ditto . . . "	0	12	0	1,023	12	0
Caulkers' ditto, and materials	0	12	0	1,023	12	0
Joiners' ditto, ditto . . . "	0	15	0	1,279	10	0
Smiths' work	2	5	0	3,838	10	0
Carvers 2s., plumbers 4s., painters and glaziers 4s.	0	10	0	853	0	0
Tinman 9d., blockmaker 1s. 3d., plaistering 10d.	0	2	10	241	13	8
Scraper	0	0	2	14	4	0
Landing timber and plank, and landing and housing deals . . .	..			356	18	0
Cross spalls, harpins, and ribbands . . . . .	..			200	0	0
Kiln fire and attendance, per ton	0	2	0	170	12	0
Standards, staging, and shores, 480l.; cordage and blocks, six tons, 420l. . . . .	..			900	0	0
King-bolts, clamps, screws, bolts, and utensils . . . . .	..			300	0	0
Mold-loft expenses, 100l.; purveying expenses, 200l.; officers' salaries, 800l. . . . .	..			1,100	0	0
Rent and taxes, 500l.; launching gear, 150l.; insurance, 150l. . .	..			800	0	0
15 per cent. . . . .	..			54,288	1	8
36l. 11s. 3d. per ton . . . . .	..			8,142	0	0
				62,430	0	0
				5 per ct.		
				42,617	7	0
				2,130	17	4
				26	4	7
				per ton.		
				44,748	4	4

most complete and accurate tables of that nature are given, embracing the period of 56 years from 1782 to 1838.

The preceding statement of the cost of materials and labour employed in the construction of a ship of 74 guns, in each of the years 1805 and 1836, will be found interesting. The prices in 1805 are taken from a parliamentary paper, and are those which were paid to five of the most considerable ship-builders on the Thames; those in 1836 were kindly supplied by Mr. G. F. Young, of the firm of Curlings and Young.

The following statement of the prices of beef and mutton at Lady-day and Michaelmas, in each year from 1801 to 1842, is taken from the weekly book of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark; and as the pieces and parts of the oxen and sheep purchased have been the same throughout the time, the Table is strictly comparative. The average quantity of meat used daily in the hospital is 32 stones 4 pounds.

	Beef per Stone.				Mutton per Stone.			
	Lady-day.		Michaelmas.		Lady-day.		Michaelmas.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1801	5	8	5	8	6	0	5	4
1802	5	0	5	0	5	4	5	4
1803	4	8	4	8	5	0	5	0
1804	4	6	4	10	4	8	5	0
1805	4	4	4	6	4	6	4	4
1806	4	8	4	10	4	10	4	10
1807	4	8	4	8	5	0	5	0
1808	4	6	5	0	4	8	5	0
1809	5	0	5	8	5	0	5	4
1810	5	8	5	8	5	4	5	8
1811	5	8	5	8	5	8	5	8
1812	6	0	6	0	6	0	6	0
1813	6	4	6	4	6	4	6	4
1814	6	4	5	8	7	0	6	0
1815	5	4	4	6	5	4	4	8
1816	4	0	4	0	4	8	4	8

	Beef per Stone.				Mutton per Stone.			
	Lady-day.		Michaelmas.		Lady-day.		Michaelmas.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1817	3	8	3	8	4	8	4	0
1818	4	4	4	4	4	8	5	0
1819	4	10	4	10	5	8	5	8
1820	4	10	4	6	5	4	5	4
1821	4	0	3	8	4	8	4	0
1822	2	10	2	6	3	4	3	6
1823	2	6	3	4	3	6	3	8
1824	3	4	3	4	3	8	3	8
1825	4	0	4	4	4	8	4	8
1826	4	0	4	0	4	8	4	4
1827	4	0	4	0	4	4	4	4
1828	3	8	3	8	4	0	4	0
1829	3	6	3	4	3	10	4	0
1830	2	8	3	0	3	2	3	6
1831	3	4	3	4	4	2	4	2
1832	3	4	3	0	4	2	3	10
1833	3	4	3	4	3	10	4	2
1834	3	0	3	0	3	10	3	6
1835	2	10	3	2	3	0	3	4
1836	3	6	3	4	3	8	3	10
1837	3	4	3	4	3	10	4	2
1838	3	0	3	4	3	6	3	10
1839	3	4	3	8	3	10	3	10
1840	3	4	3	8	3	8	4	0
1841	4	0	3	8	4	4	4	0
1842	3	4	..		3	8	..	

Enough has already been said, in the course of this work, concerning variations in the prices of various descriptions of agricultural produce. It will suffice therefore if, in concluding this Chapter, some particulars are given of the cost of certain articles of clothing purchased for the inmates of Greenwich, Chelsea, and Bethlehem Hospitals. The descriptions and qualities purchased by

BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

Year.	Sixth-fourth Winery Blankets, per Pair.	Men's Stockings, per Dozen Pair.	Women's Stockings, per Dozen Pair.	Sheets, per Pair.	Seven-eighth Dowels, per Yard.	Eleven- eighth Check, per Yard.	Cotton Prints, per Yard.
1814	s. d. 16 6	s. d. 26 0	s. d. 25 0	s. d. 18 6	s. d. 1 6	s. d. 2 2	s. d. ..
1815	16 6	26 0	25 0	18 6	1 6	2 2	..
1816	15 0	26 0	25 0	18 0	1 7	2 0	..
1817	11 0	24 0	23 0	13 6	1 6	1 6	..
1818	13 6	24 0	21 0	per yard. 2 7	1 5	1 4½	1 1½
1819	12 9	25 0	23 0	2 3	1 4	1 4½	1 2
1820	12 3	24 0	20 0	2 2	1 3	1 3½	1 1
1821	12 0	26 0	21 0	2 3	1 3	1 2	1 0
1822	11 0	25 6	20 0	2 3	1 3	1 2	1 0
1823	10 6	24 6	19 6	2 3	1 2	1 2	1 0
1824	10 0	19 0	12 3	1 8	1 0	0 10	0 10
1825	11 0	25 0	20 0	1 9	1 2½	0 10½	0 11
1826	9 0	21 0	17 0	1 5½	1 0	0 11	0 10
1827	9 0	21 0	17 0	1 5½	1 0½	0 10½	0 9
1828	9 0	21 0	17 0	1 5½	1 0½	0 10½	0 9
1829	9 0	21 0	17 0	1 5	1 0½	0 10½	0 8½
1830	9 0	21 0	17 0	1 5	1 0½	0 10½	0 8½
1831	8 9	13 0	12 0	1 3	0 10½	0 7	0 5½
1832	8 8	21 0	16 0	1 2½	0 11½	0 8	0 5
1833	9 6	21 6	18 0	1 2½	1 0	0 8	0 5½
1834	11 10	22 0	20 0	1 3	1 0½	0 8	0 5½
1835	11 4	23 0	20 0	1 4	1 1½	0 10½	0 6½

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Year.	Officers' Coats.	Privates' Coats.	Officers' Waist-coats.	Privates' Waist-coats.	Officers' Hats.	Privates' Hats.	Officers' Shoes.	Privates' Shoes.
1815	s. s. d. 3 8 7	s. s. d. 1 7 1	s. s. d. 1 11 6	s. s. d. 11 7 7	s. s. d. 17 11	s. s. d. 4 2	s. s. d. 7 0	s. s. d. 7 0
1816	3 8 7	1 7 1	1 11 6	11 7 7	17 11	4 2	7 0	7 0
1817	3 4 2	1 3 7	1 7 6	11 0	19 0	4 4	5 6	5 6
1818	3 4 2	1 3 7	1 7 6	11 0	19 0	4 4	5 6	5 6
1819	3 6 6	1 7 2	1 17 11	12 0	19 3	4 4	6 0	6 0
1820	3 6 6	1 7 2	1 17 11	12 0	19 3	4 4	6 0	6 0
1821	2 12 5	1 0 10	1 5 8½	9 4	18 6½	4 0	5 3	5 3
1822	2 12 5	1 0 10	1 5 8½	9 4	18 6½	4 0	5 3	5 3
1823	2 4 6	0 17 8	1 0 3	8 8	17 6	4 0	5 0	5 0
1824	2 4 6	0 17 8	1 0 3	8 8	17 6	4 0	5 0	5 0
1825	2 2 11½	0 18 0½	1 2 9	7 10	18 3	4 2	4 10	4 10
1826	2 2 11½	0 18 0½	1 2 9	7 10	18 3	4 2	4 10	4 10
1827	2 4 7½	0 16 9½	1 0 4½	6 3½	18 2½	4 2	5 1	5 1
1828	2 4 7½	0 16 9½	1 0 4½	6 3½	18 2½	4 2	5 1	5 1
1829	2 2 5	0 16 3	1 0 2	6 8	18 0	4 2	5 0	5 0
1830	2 2 5	0 16 3	1 0 2	6 8	18 0	4 2	5 0	5 0
1831	2 6 3	0 17 5	1 3 0	7 4	18 3	4 4	9 9	9 9
1832	2 6 2	0 17 5	1 3 0	7 4	18 3	4 4	9 9	9 9
1833	2 2 7	0 17 11	1 1 9	6 10	18 0	4 4	6½	6½
1834	2 2 7	0 17 11	1 1 9	6 10	18 0	4 4	6½	6½
1835	2 7 4	1 0 9	0 11 7	7 11	17 5	4 1	7	7

SECTION VI. ACCUMULATION.

CHAPTER I.

Conditions under which Accumulations occur—Proofs of increasing Wealth—Greater Power of Accumulation in Peace than in War, because of the Difference of the Public Expenditure under the two Conditions—Probable present State of England in this respect if we had avoided the Wars with our North American Provinces, and with the French Republic and Empire.

As there can be no consumption without previous production, so there can be no accumulation unless the productive industry of a nation is employed to such a degree as will make provision beyond the immediate wants of the people.

If the producing power of the people in this country had always been strictly limited to the point that would satisfy their pressing and temporary necessities, it would have been quite impossible that any increase in the number of its inhabitants could have occurred without proportionally and progressively taking away from the comfort of the existing population. That our numbers have experienced a great increase, while our power of commanding the necessaries and conveniences of life has also gone on increasing, affords abundant proof therefore that in the meanwhile accumulation has proceeded in at least an equal ratio, and that the substantial wealth, the capital of the country, has kept pace with our modern progress in other respects.

This fact appears so amply confirmed by proofs that meet us on every side—proofs admitting of no doubts, and incapable of receiving any different interpretation—that it

is marvellous how they can escape the notice of any one, or fail to produce the universal conviction that, if we have not made as much progress as our means should have enabled us towards the well-being of all classes of the community, we have yet, during the present century, and especially within the last twenty-five years, made great advances in that direction, greater perhaps than were ever before realized by peaceable means, and by any community in any equal period of time. It is, notwithstanding, by no means uncommon still to hear complaints of increasing distress and anticipations of approaching national ruin; although it must be confessed that such gloomy views and forebodings are less frequently brought forward now than they were only a very few years back,—an effect which may be in some measure attributable to the signs of wealth and prosperity among us having become more obvious through the particular direction that has been given to the employment of a portion of the general savings of the community. The present has been called the age of locomotion,—not of locomotion such as was employed by our forefathers, who were in a far greater degree than we are confined to the use of their own bodily energies for the means of conveying themselves from place to place, but of locomotion accelerated and stimulated by vast combinations of men who work through the employment of enormous masses of capital. The arrangements which have rendered possible this change are known to have caused an enormous outlay; and as no evidence can be found of any stinting of capital for other and previously-pursued objects, the inference is unavoidable that the new call must have been answered from increased accumulations.

If a comparison be made between the public expenditure of the United Kingdom in the twenty-three years from

1793 to 1815, and that of the like period of twenty-three years from 1816 to 1838, it will be found that it was less in the latter than in the former period by 332,090,640*l.*, showing an average annual difference of 14,438,722*l.* It matters not, for the purpose now under consideration, what part of the sums here mentioned was raised from taxation, and what part was borrowed; under whatever guise it was derived, the whole was provided by the nation at large; and if the greater expenditure of the war period was so provided without diminishing or even without materially impairing the capital of the nation, it must needs be that the smaller expenditure of the second or peace period has left an enormous increase of wealth in the nation. It will place this matter in even a stronger light if the comparison is made between the last ten years of the war, from 1806 to 1815, and the ten years ending with 1838. The expenditure in the first of these periods was 860,677,615*l.*, and in the last 478,122,345*l.*; exhibiting a difference of 382,555,270*l.* or an average of 38½ millions more expended during each of the last ten years of war than during the last ten years of perfect peace. It further appears, from this comparison, that the aggregate difference has been greater between the two decennary periods than it was between the two longer periods of twenty-three years,—a fact that has resulted from the progressively-increasing charge of the national debt, which was far greater in the latter years of the war than it had previously been, and from the consequent increased charge upon the income of the country, which has been in great part continued to the present time. This portion of the national expenditure was—

In 1793	£9,437,862
1815	31,576,074
1838	29,260,238
1841	29,450,144

It is probable that, owing to the greater development of the resources of the country, arising from the extension of its manufactures, a considerable addition was made to the national wealth during the early part of the war begun in 1793, notwithstanding the large expenditure that it occasioned; but this could no longer be the case when that expenditure was so lavishly increased that, as already shown,* the war charges, added to the interest on the national debt, in one year (1814) exceeded 100 millions, a great part of which sum being expended in foreign countries was wholly abstracted from the national capital. Such a rate of exhaustion could not possibly have been continued; its disastrous effects were made sufficiently apparent during the earlier years of peace, but must have been long since repaired.

While dwelling on these circumstances, it seems hardly possible to prevent the inquiry arising in the mind, what must have been the condition of England at this time if the wars which caused this lavish, this unexampled, expenditure could have been avoided. A small part only of that expenditure would have sufficed to pay off the whole of the national burthens as they stood in 1793; we should then assuredly have heard nothing of the restrictions upon various branches of trade for which those burthens have so long been made the groundless pretext, and an amount of prosperity would have been experienced that must have had the happiest effects upon the physical and moral condition of England first, and through England upon that of the whole European family.

If we may carry back our inquiry to a still earlier period,—to the years that followed the peace of Paris in 1763, and before the breaking out of the unfortunate troubles that ended in the loss to us of our North Ameri-

* Vol. ii. p. 331.

can plantations, we shall find cause for still deeper regret. At the commencement of the insurrectionary war in America, our debt amounted to less than 130 millions, the annual charge in respect of the same being $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or less than one-sixth of its present amount. The sources of our national wealth which have since been discovered and made available, were none of them brought to light or fostered through the partial dismemberment of the British Empire. On the contrary, it may be said that the extent to which they have been carried was importantly limited by that misfortune. Had the case been otherwise,—had the field for our manufacturing inventions equally embraced a peaceful and flourishing British Empire in the West, how much more rapid and gigantic must have been its growth; how much more rapid and gigantic too might have been the growth of the North American States themselves, if, instead of being drained of men and treasure in supporting the revolt into which they were driven in resistance of what has since been acknowledged to have been a course of legislative tyranny, they had continued to be recipients of the surplus population, and sharers in the accumulating capital of the mother country. Is it likely, it may even be asked, could it possibly have happened, in such circumstances, that the British Empire could have been involved in such a war as that which followed the breaking out of the French revolution? Nay, is it probable that, without the participation of France in that struggle as the abettor of rebellion and the ally of republicanism, the French revolution would have occurred when and as it did occur? These, it is true, are questions of speculation rather than of fact, and it would be of little advantage to pursue them further on this occasion.

CHAPTER II.

INCREASE OF PERSONAL AND REAL PROPERTY.

Forms in which the National Accumulations appear—Amount of Property Insured at different Periods—Moral and Economical Effects of Insurances—Accumulations in Life Assurance Offices—Property devised in respect of which Legacy Duty has been paid affords an insufficient Test of the Amount of Accumulations—Estimate of Personal Property in the Kingdom at different Periods—Capital on which Legacy Duty was paid in Forty-four Years to 1840—Yearly Average Amount, compared with the year 1840, in England, Scotland, and Ireland—Savings invested in the Security of Real Estates, and in their Improvement. Assessments on Real Property, showing its Value at various Periods—Savings' Banks.

It must be sufficiently evident, from the circumstances stated in the last Chapter, that the accumulation of capital in this country since the peace has been exceedingly great; but it will place the fact in a much stronger light to bring forward in evidence some of the forms in which that accumulation has been made most apparent.

During the war, the surplus profits and the savings of individuals were, to a great degree, swallowed up by the public expenditure, and went to supply the constant drain which, without those savings, would very speedily have exhausted the whole resources of the nation. The return of peace soon brought the expenditure of government nearer to the amount of revenue realized from taxation, and in time left a yearly surplus of income to be applied

in diminution of the public debt. The loan of 1836, obtained for the payment of the compensation for slaves, can be considered as only in a slight degree affording an opportunity for the absorption of savings. Unlike the produce of other loans, the amount was not consumed and destroyed, but by far the greatest part of it went to the payment of debts due to merchants in England, by whom it was employed as capital, and thus, as far as the nation generally was concerned, effected only a change from one hand to another without causing any material alteration in the aggregate amount of capital in the country.

The amount of property insured does not, of itself, afford a correct view of the progressive value of the description of property liable to destruction by fire. It is most probable that a large but continually lessening proportion of such property is always left uninsured; and it is manifestly impossible to calculate the proportionate degree of prudence among its owners, so as to arrive at any probable estimate of the aggregate value of insurable property in the country. The following statement of the sums insured in the fire-offices of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at different periods within this century, has been calculated from the amount of duty received in respect of the same at the Stamp Office. If it be desirable, and who can doubt that it is so, that all persons should secure themselves from losses arising through accidents beyond their own control, it must then be held unwise to subject insurances to taxation; and when, as in this country, the tax thus levied amounts to 200 per cent. upon the sum required by the insurance offices to cover the ordinary risk from accidents by fire, the degree of discouragement occasioned by the duty must needs be very great. It is not only by reason of the security arising to individuals, amounting often to the prevention of

beggary, that insurances against fire and upon lives are beneficial: they exercise a good effect upon the country generally through the accumulation of savings which they cause. The sums paid for premium on life-policies especially, are, in every case, put by and added to the accumulating capital of the community. The money, as it is paid to the insurance offices, is beneficially employed, and made to stimulate, in one way or another, the industry of the nation; and when called for by the arrival of the contingency against which the payments were meant to provide, it is pretty certain that in a large proportion of cases the money is so much clear gain, because without such a resource the premiums out of which it is provided would have been unprofitably consumed.

The sums insured against fire in England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, in each of the years 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, and 1841, were as follows:—

	England. £.	Scotland. £.	Ireland. £.	United Kingdom. £.
1801	219,623,954	3,786,146	8,832,125	232,242,225
1811	340,296,000	13,106,400	13,302,400	366,704,800
1821	381,406,000	13,824,666	12,806,666	408,037,332
1831	473,073,333	34,109,333	19,472,666	526,655,332
1841	605,878,933	44,655,300	31,005,606	681,539,839

The increase of the amount insured in the United Kingdom has been,—

Comparing 1801 with 1811	£134,462,575 or	57·89 per cent.
„ 1801 „ 1821	175,795,107 „	75·69 „
„ 1801 „ 1831	294,413,107 „	126·77 „
„ 1801 „ 1841	449,297,614 „	193·45 „

The policy-duty on life insurances is but trifling in amount, and being charged only when the insurance is first effected, and not annually, as in the case of fire insurances, it would afford no test of the amount of policies

outstanding at various periods. The records of the Stamp Office do not even offer the means of ascertaining the amount of new insurances effected from year to year, because the stamps employed are not distinguished from those used for giving validity to many other descriptions of instruments. The great increase, of late years, in the number of Life Insurance Offices, and the flourishing condition in which they appear to be, leads us to conclude that the number of insurances must have been very greatly augmented, although it seems probable that the system has not yet been carried to anything like the extent that is desirable.

It is believed that the sums accumulated in the hands of the various Life Assurance Offices in the kingdom, and which form a part of the savings of the assured, amount to about forty millions of money, an estimate which will not be thought extravagant when it is known that the assets of one office, the Equitable Assurance Company, form one-fourth of that sum. It is to be wished that our various Life Assurance Societies were obliged by the legislature to register the amount of their engagements, and of the funds which they respectively hold to provide for the same. Such a regulation could not prove injurious to any assurance office conducted upon safe principles, while it would serve to put the public upon their guard against such—if any there be—as should be otherwise conducted, if it did not prevent their establishment. It must surely be useful to protect the public against the risk of intrusting to unsafe hands savings which are made oftentimes with much privation and at great sacrifice for the benefit of the widow and the orphan. At present there is no information upon this subject whereby a man may be guided in the selection of an office; and, should he make a bad choice, his error may

not discover itself until to remedy it will have become impossible. There are, it is true, Assurance Offices which are of known stability, and by the choice of which a man may avoid the risk here mentioned ; but to do this, it will mostly be the case that he will be forced to pay a rate of premium greater than sufficient, so that either his privation will be greater than it need be, or the sum insured to his family smaller than might have been provided.

Occasion has already been taken, in describing the produce of taxes (Section iv. Chapter iii.), to show the capitals upon which legacy duty was paid in Great Britain in each year from 1797 to 1835 ; the amount subjected to duty in each of the six following years was,—

	£.		£.
1836	41,768,806	1839	42,052,297
1837	42,617,582	1840	40,441,678
1838	45,304,917	1841	41,476,521

The sums thus registered do not comprise the whole of the personal property held in this country which changes hands on the death of its possessors. A further amount passes away from persons who die intestate, and whose property is distributed under letters of administration. The amount thus dealt with yearly is computed at nearly five millions. Beyond this a very large sum is bequeathed to widows, and is not chargeable with legacy duty. But even if this amount could be ascertained, we should still be without some part of the information necessary for making an accurate estimate of the personal property accumulated and held within the kingdom. The probate and administration duties certainly take in all cases where the property of deceased persons is of considerable value, and many cases also where the sums are small. The number of wills proved in England and

Scotland, and upon which probate duty was paid in 1841, appears to have been 16,684, and letters of administration were taken out in the same year for the distribution of the property of 6,301 intestate persons, together 22,985; out of which number there were 8,276 cases in which the property did not exceed 200*l.* in value. It is well known that where no will is left, and the property is of that nature which admits of easy distribution among the natural heirs of the deceased, a division takes place in very numerous cases without any payment of duty, besides which, the property of deceased persons, when not exceeding 20*l.* in value, is exempted by law from taxation. If, for the sake of illustration, we may suppose that every head of a family, when he dies, leaves some property behind him, it appears that from one cause or another only three-tenths of the number are thus made to contribute directly to the revenue. The number of male persons living in England and Wales at the time of the census of 1831 was 6,771,190, comprising 2,911,874 families. At the recent census, in 1841, the male population of England and Wales was 7,770,941; and if the proportion then remained the same as was found to exist in 1831, the number of families must have been 3,341,805, corresponding very nearly to the number of male persons living 25 years old and upwards (3,371,144). The deaths, male and female, registered in England and Wales during the year from 1st July, 1839, to 30th June, 1840, were 350,101, or 1 in 45·44 of the population. Of males alone the deaths registered were 177,926, or 1 in 43·67 of the male population living in 1841. According to this proportion the heads of families included among those male deaths must have been 76,524. It is evident that this number will not be correct, because of the want of uniformity in the rates of mortality at different ages;

but it is very near to the truth, according to the fact above assumed, that twenty-five years is the average period at which persons become heads of families,—the deaths occurring at and above that age in the year mentioned having been 75,205, a difference of less than 2 per cent. We have seen that the number of persons who died in 1841, and whose property was subjected to the legacy and probate duties, was only 22,985, being only three in ten of the deaths probably occurring among heads of families.

For a reason already given (Vol. ii. page 316), it is not possible to ground any accurate calculation upon the produce of the legacy duty during the earlier years of its operation ; but that branch of revenue must now for many years have afforded comparative data for such a calculation, and has given evidence of the rapid accumulation of wealth in the kingdom. If we are justified in the data here assumed, and estimate the amount upon the scale assumed in the foregoing calculation, the value of personal property at different periods since the closing year of the war, stated in round numbers, would have been as follows :—

1814	£1,200,000,000
1819	1,300,000,000
1824	1,500,000,000
1829	1,700,000,000
1834	1,800,000,000
1841	2,000,000,000

The addition of 800 millions to the value of property during twenty-four years of peace will not appear improbable if we recall to mind the facts that during the last ten years of the war the public expenditure exceeded, on the average, 83 millions, while the average has, in the following twenty-four years, not exceeded 50 millions. The difference between these two sums would alone suffice in that period to make up the sum of 800 millions.

It should be borne in mind that the apparent amount of personal property within the kingdom is factitiously raised by considering as a part of it the sum due to the national creditors, amounting to 760,000,000*l*. Another very large abatement should likewise be made for the amount of money due on mortgages of real property, and which, although it is considered as personal property, and thus is subjected to the probate and legacy duties, has, in fact, become a part of the real property of the kingdom, supplying means for its improvement, or repairing the waste of its possessors.

The following analysis of the sums paid for probate duty, and on taking out letters of administration in England and Scotland respectively in 1838, shows the number of wills and of intestate estates subjected to the various rates of duty, and the capitals in respect of which the duty was paid ; but the statement must not be relied on as giving an accurate view of the property that passes, because the amounts are in many cases reduced by the payment of debts due from the deceased, and by other charges upon their estates. It has been further necessary, in consequence of the mode employed for levying the duty, to assume in each case the amount of capital. Each rate of duty is made to apply to a certain range of value. For example ; the lowest rate, where there is a will, which is ten shillings, covers all sums above the value of 20*l*. and under the value of 100*l*. ; in all cases where this rate of duty has been paid, the capital is assumed in the following table as being the mean between 20*l*. and 100*l*., or 60*l*. ; and in like manner with regard to all higher rates, the mean between the lowest and the highest amounts that they will cover is taken as the basis of the calculation.

No general mortality table for Ireland has ever been

published; it is therefore not possible to offer any similar calculation for that part of the kingdom. From the subjoined table of the produce of probate and administration duties in Ireland in 1838, it appears that 2,169 estates were subjected to the tax in that year, and that the capital which they comprised was 4,465,240*l*. If we assume the same rate of mortality as that ascertained in England and Wales, it would therefore appear that the personal property in Ireland which in succession contributes to this branch of the revenue is 167,669,762*l*. This sum is probably far less than the actual value, and is offered only as an approximation to the truth.

The capital in respect of which the legacy duty alone has been paid in Great Britain between 1797 and 1841 was as follows:—

At 1	per cent. duty	£568,412,956
2	”	20,716,610
2½	”	70,219,437
3	”	293,855,817
4	”	12,534,841
5	”	44,341,725
6	”	16,623,388
8	”	11,727,897
10	”	124,851,536
Total		£1,163,284,207

The amount of duty received by the government on legacies, and on probates of wills and letters of administration, during the same period, viz., from 1797 to 1841, was—

	Legacies.	Probates and Administrations.
	£.	£.
England and Wales	32,136,634	25,504,824
Scotland	1,862,756	1,274,941
Ireland.	609,840	940,089
Total	£34,609,230	£27,719,854

The annual averages of these sums, compared with the amounts for the last year of the series, were as follows:—

	Yearly Average, 1797 to 1841.			Year 1840.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Capital subject to Legacy Duty in Great Britain.	25,850,760	0	0	40,441,678	17	11
Legacy Duty—England and Wales . . .	705,166	5	10	1,087,111	19	9
Probate, &c., Duty—England and Wales .	558,851	11	4	898,690	2	6
Legacy Duty—Scotland	40,749	5	6	89,070	18	8
Probate, &c., Duty, ditto	27,658	15	5	50,162	10	0
Legacy Duty—Ireland	13,177	14	4	26,394	9	4
Probate, &c., Duty, ditto	20,489	4	2	40,581	0	0

The unequal distribution of personal property in the different divisions of the kingdom is rendered very apparent by means of these figures. An amount equal to the legacy and probate duty paid in 1840, if equally divided among the inhabitants, would have amounted to—

	s.	d.
In England	2	5½
Scotland	1	0½
Ireland	0	2

The different habits and dispositions of the people are also exemplified by the proportions which the duty on legacies bears to that on probates and letters of administration. In each 100%. of duty those proportions were, in 1840,—

	Legacy Duty.			Probate Duty.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
In England . . .	54	14	7	45	5	5
Scotland . . .	63	19	5	36	0	7
Ireland . . .	39	5	0	60	15	0

We are thence led to presume that in Scotland the habit of making a distribution of property by will is more prevalent than in England, while in Ireland there is exhibited less of forethought for others in this respect than in England.

PRORATES.

Rate of Duty.	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	Amount of Duty.	No. of Wills.	Amount of Capital.	Amount of Duty.	No. of Wills.	Amount of Capital.
10s.	£ 1,254 0	2,508	150,490	20 10	41	2,460
£2	4,370 0	2,185	327,750	110 0	55	8,250
5	6,990 0	1,396	349,000	260 0	52	12,000
8	11,816 0	1,477	553,875	1,264 0	158	52,250
11	12,940 0	1,180	619,500	1,771 0	161	84,525
15	16,335 0	1,089	782,300	1,905 0	127	88,900
22	18,870 0	835	751,500	2,200 0	100	90,000
30	30,750 0	1,023	1,281,250	3,750 0	125	156,250
40	29,800 0	670	1,172,500	2,680 0	67	117,250
50	39,950 0	799	1,937,500	3,200 0	64	80,000
60	33,480 0	558	1,953,000	4,560 0	76	266,000
80	28,880 0	361	1,624,500	2,160 0	27	121,500
100	24,300 0	243	1,336,500	2,700 0	27	148,500
120	20,780 0	173	1,124,500	1,920 0	16	104,000
140	18,760 0	134	1,005,000	960 0	7	52,500
160	16,480 0	103	875,500	960 0	6	51,000
180	17,820 0	99	940,500	720 0	4	38,000
200	20,800 0	154	1,694,000	2,000 0	10	110,000
220	21,120 0	96	1,348,000	1,960 0	9	117,000
250	22,000 0	88	1,320,000	1,250 0	5	75,000
300	15,760 0	56	952,000	840 0	3	51,000
310	17,050 0	55	1,045,000	1,240 0	4	76,000
350	30,450 0	87	1,957,500	2,100 0	6	135,000
400	28,800 0	72	1,980,000	2,000 0	5	137,500
450	20,680 0	46	1,485,000	450 0	1	32,500
525	15,150 0	28	950,000	525 0	1	27,500
600	14,400 0	24	1,020,000	..	..	..
675	6,075 0	9	427,500	675 0	1	47,500
750	23,250 0	31	1,705,000	750 0	1	85,000
900	14,400 0	16	1,040,000	900 0	1	65,000
1,050	5,250 0	5	375,000	..	..	..
1,200	15,600 0	12	1,105,000	..	..	..
1,350	12,150 0	9	835,000	1,350 0	1	95,000
1,500	19,500 0	18	1,430,000	..	..	..
1,800	7,200 0	4	520,000	..	..	..
2,100	12,600 0	6	500,000	..	..	..
2,400	4,800 0	2	340,000	..	..	..
3,000	12,000 0	4	900,000	..	..	..
5,250	5,250 0	1	275,000	..	..	..
6,000	6,000 0	1	450,000	..	..	..
7,500	7,500 0	1	850,000	..	..	..
9,000	9,000 0	1	680,000	..	..	..
15,000	15,000 0	1	1,000,000	..	..	..
Arrears .	21,652 0	..	..	..	..	..
England .	745,492 0	15,658	43,109,155	47,220 10	1,161	8,515,385
Scotland .	47,220 10	1,161	2,555,385	..	..	..
Great Britain	790,712 10	16,819	45,664,540	..	..	..

LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION, 1838.

Rate of Duty.	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	Amount of Duty.	Number of Estates.	Amount of Capital.	Amount of Duty.	Number of Estates.	Amount of Capital.
10s.	£. s.		£.	£.		£.
10s.	460 0	920	32,200	..	..	..
11	1,470 0	1,470	110,250	5	5	375
3	3,549 0	1,183	177,450	45	15	2,250
8	4,208 0	526	131,500	..	..	..
11	5,027 0	457	171,375	..	..	..
15	4,335 0	289	151,725	..	..	..
22	5,478 0	229	160,300	..	..	..
30	9,130 0	304	273,000	..	..	..
45	12,330 0	274	341,700	1,665	87	46,250
60	8,400 0	140	245,000	..	..	..
75	12,300 0	160	400,000	1,875	25	62,500
90	6,060 0	74	259,000	1,440	16	56,000
120	6,400 0	54	243,000	..	..	..
150	3,300 0	22	121,000	600	4	22,000
180	3,600 0	20	130,000	..	..	..
210	2,730 0	13	97,500	210	1	7,500
240	2,880 0	12	102,000	480	2	17,000
270	2,700 0	10	90,000	..	..	..
300	5,400 0	18	198,000	600	2	22,000
330	3,300 0	10	130,000	..	..	..
375	3,750 0	10	150,000	750	2	30,000
420	840 0	2	34,000	420	1	17,000
465	1,860 0	4	76,000	465	1	19,000
525	1,050 0	2	45,000	..	..	..
600	4,200 0	7	192,500	..	..	..
675	2,375 0	5	162,500	..	..	..
785	785 0	1	37,500	..	..	..
900	900 0	1	42,500	..	..	..
1,575	1,575 0	1	75,000	..	..	..
2,250	2,250 0	1	110,000	..	..	..
Arrears . .	4,386 10	..	..	..	..	..
England . .	128,698 10	5,889	4,495,600	8,555	111	301,875
Scotland . .	8,555 0	111	301,875	..	..	..
Great Britain	137,253 10	7,000	4,797,475	Administrations. Probates.		
Ditto	790,712 10	16,819	45,624,540			
	927,966 0	23,819	50,422,015	Total.		

PROBATES and LETTERS of ADMINISTRATION in IRELAND in 1838,
no distinction being made, as in Great Britain, between the two
Classes.

Rate of Duty.		Amount of Duty.		Number of Estates.	Amount of Capital.	
£.	s.	£.	s.		£.	
0	10	238	0	476	30,940	
1	10	433	10	289	43,350	
2	0	404	0	202	50,500	
3	0	405	0	135	47,250	
4	0	464	0	116	52,200	
5	0	385	0	77	42,350	
6	0	420	0	70	45,500	
7	0	434	0	62	46,500	
8	0	440	0	55	47,750	
9	0	646	0	72	68,400	
15	0	2,310	0	154	192,500	
20	0	2,520	0	126	220,550	
35	0	4,935	0	141	387,750	
60	0	4,020	0	67	284,750	
75	0	3,675	0	49	306,250	
90	0	1,980	0	22	192,500	
110	0	2,090	0	19	213,750	
135	0	1,890	0	14	192,500	
160	0	1,760	0	11	178,750	
185	0	925	0	5	93,750	
210	0	2,310	0	11	247,500	
260	0	1,820	0	7	192,500	
310	0	1,550	0	5	162,500	
360	0	360	0	1	37,500	
460	0	920	0	2	95,000	
550	0	1,650	0	3	165,000	
650	0	650	0	1	65,000	
750	0	750	0	1	75,000	
2,000	0	2,000	0	1	187,500	
2,500	0	2,500	0	1	225,000	
3,000	0	3,000	0	1	275,000	
Arrears . .		542	10	..	..
Total		£48,427	0	2,196	£4,465,240	

It has been already stated, that a considerable amount of wealth, which it is usual to consider as personal property, has been invested in mortgages on real estates, and partakes therefore of the nature of real property. The sums thus invested consist of savings or accumulations made by the lenders, but when thus disposed of must not necessarily be considered as additions to the national wealth, since the loans may have been required through the extravagance of spendthrift land-owners. There exist no general records of sums thus secured, and it would be difficult to make any satisfactory estimate of the amount. Still less would it be possible to determine the sums thus advanced to the proprietors of real estates which have been required for purposes of permanent improvement, and which therefore form a part of the national accumulations. The savings thus disposed of have, for the most part, been made by persons engaged in commercial and professional pursuits, but there must be another and a far larger amount thus invested through the prudence of land-owners themselves. One capital instance of this nature was afforded by the late Earl of Leicester, better known as Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, who, by the continued application of capital to improvements in the course of his long and useful life, converted a sterile domain into a highly-productive estate. In this manner Lord Leicester is said to have invested sums amounting in the aggregate to at least half a million of money, and which amount has thus been added to the productive wealth of the nation. To what extent the example thus given may have been followed by those who witnessed the success of the patriotic owner of Holkham, cannot, of course, be known; but as men are seldom slow to adopt what has been proved greatly and notoriously beneficial, we may fairly suppose that the in-

vestments there made form but a very small part of the savings and accumulations employed in this manner. Nor has this disposal of capital been confined to the owners of the soil. Among the more intelligent class of tenants, whose interest in the farms they have occupied has been secured to them by means of leases for such periods as will justify them in expecting an adequate return, there must have been many whose capital embarked in improvements has not only been replaced to them with profit, but has permanently raised the value of the estate, and in this way has added to the real wealth of the country.

The assessments to the income-tax upon real property in Great Britain, in 1803, were made on an annual value or rental of 38,691,394*l.*, which, at twenty-five years' purchase, represented a capital of 967,284,850*l.* In 1812 the assessments to the property-tax upon the like property were made on an annual value of 55,784,533*l.*, which, at the same rate of valuation, represented a capital of 1,394,613,325*l.*, showing an apparent increase in value of 427,328,475*l.* in nine years; but it is well known that during that interval the prices of agricultural produce had risen enormously, and that rents and the apparent value of land and of buildings partook largely of that increase, which arose out of circumstances that gave an artificial value to almost every thing which could be freely exchanged. The average price of gold in 1812 was 4*l.* 15*s.* per ounce; so that the larger valuation assigned to that year would represent a capital of only 1,143,215,923*l.*, if estimated at the mint price; the increased value during the nine years that followed 1803 was therefore no more than 175,931,073*l.*, which is probably still somewhat exaggerated. The assessments in 1812 were made to include tithes, and it does not clearly

appear that this was done in 1803. Their annual value was assessed at 2,583,687*l.*, equal to a capital of 64,592,175*l.*, or at the mint price of gold 52,948,586*l.*, which being deducted leaves the increase in nine years 72,982,487*l.* The assessments for the poor's rate are not made upon the uniform principle followed in regard to the income and property taxes, and do not afford any very satisfactory means for comparing the progress made in the value of real property since the repeal of the property-tax in 1815, nor will the income-tax of 1842 furnish much better means for comparing one period with another, because of the numerous classes who will be exempted under its various provisions.

The best statement, however, that exists of the amount of real property at the present time in England and Wales, is contained in the following table, showing the annual value assessed to the poor's rates for the year ended 24th March, 1841, distinguishing land and dwelling-houses from other kinds of real property. It appears from this statement that the annual value at that time of real property thus assessed in England and Wales alone was 62,540,030*l.*, which, at twenty-five years' purchase, represents a value of 1,563,500,750*l.* (See Table opposite.)

In bringing forward his proposal for an income-tax in 1842, Sir Robert Peel assumed the value of real property to be ten millions beyond the above amount, but Scotland is included in his estimate. His figures were—

	£.
Rent of land	39,400,000
Rent of houses	25,000,000
Tithes, mines, &c. . . .	8,400,000
	<hr/>
	£72,800,000

which sum, at twenty-five years' purchase, is equal to a capital of 1,820,000,000*l.*

COUNTIES.	Total Annual Value of Real Property in 1813.	Net Rental, or Annual Value of Real Property, Assessed to the Poor Rates, for the Year ended Lady-day, 1841				Area in English Statute Acres.
		Landed Property.	Dwelling-Houses.	All other Kinds of Property.	Total Annual Value of Real Property Assessed.	
ENGLAND.						
Bedford	241,688	308,864	132,816	8,496	449,200	227,888
Berks	451,084	477,370	196,999	54,347	728,716	472,370
Buckingham	644,130	543,137	93,737	23,490	660,364	463,830
Cambridge	635,221	561,761	229,078	47,844	838,683	589,533
Chesster	1,033,084	778,500	447,054	190,241	1,415,805	649,030
Cornwall	816,060	675,119	190,408	113,631	980,158	854,770
Cumberland	703,446	467,373	147,820	50,859	666,052	399,490
Derby	387,630	623,201	180,777	80,813	884,791	563,183
Devon	1,897,515	1,241,323	490,320	129,091	1,860,734	1,648,450
Dorset	606,806	530,267	145,123	86,542	761,932	627,240
Durham	781,359	518,971	213,428	220,381	952,780	679,300
Essex	1,556,886	1,018,630	443,933	121,118	1,583,681	1,375,000
Gloucester	1,463,260	896,037	734,301	144,039	1,774,377	798,479
Hereford	804,614	602,363	192,921	23,231	821,515	543,800
Hertford	571,107	836,341	230,978	61,293	1,128,712	400,370
Huntingdon	320,189	238,633	71,231	9,364	317,718	242,000
Kent	1,644,173	1,044,999	678,478	126,304	1,849,781	1,111,073
Leicester	2,067,744	1,402,206	2,440,196	1,413,392	5,263,694	1,117,390
Leinster	906,217	630,614	221,771	21,114	873,500	511,640
Lincoln	2,061,030	1,796,740	200,348	60,219	2,057,307	1,803,330
Middlesex	5,365,567	306,833	6,604,302	386,514	7,294,369	179,390
Monmouth	205,097	201,019	119,674	60,037	380,730	224,216
Norfolk	1,540,852	1,809,681	498,738	197,863	2,546,282	1,350,000
Northampton	942,102	743,116	156,621	383,638	1,283,375	640,810
Northumberland	1,240,304	743,009	324,159	281,541	1,349,709	1,163,490
Nottingham	727,390	563,340	232,220	48,633	854,213	523,000
Oxford	715,147	528,342	43,659	17,652	609,653	437,000
Salisbury	189,497	105,110	9,104	3,911	118,124	97,500
Salop	1,037,908	874,218	213,231	82,441	1,170,090	864,200
Somerset	1,500,651	1,367,347	567,778	131,143	2,066,318	1,028,000
Southampton	1,130,959	733,097	541,339	87,710	1,362,136	1,013,230
Stafford	1,180,285	900,109	603,762	422,806	1,926,777	798,290
Suffolk	1,127,404	912,062	202,039	83,633	1,217,734	918,700
Surrey	1,579,178	876,644	1,490,180	141,880	2,508,704	674,430
Sussex	915,340	611,380	472,443	23,467	1,108,290	607,300
Warwick	1,230,737	719,390	300,467	508,030	1,509,747	567,300
Westmorland	268,190	201,064	37,374	7,907	246,345	440,000
Wiltshire	1,153,439	819,878	319,331	35,007	1,174,216	889,000
Worcester	793,605	686,810	233,007	69,625	1,039,452	433,710
York, East Riding	1,180,328	766,842	271,220	72,807	1,111,667	763,500
York, North Riding	1,143,252	643,547	131,661	34,637	1,010,895	1,275,000
York, West Riding	2,092,606	1,448,807	1,414,800	400,993	3,264,390	1,639,000
Totals of England	49,744,622	30,448,901	22,901,472	3,944,942	58,695,216	21,770,613
WALES.						
Anglesea	99,589	104,087	15,785	11,191	131,153	173,440
Brecon	146,589	170,307	82,011	10,253	262,570	403,000
Cardigan	141,800	143,380	16,849	6,854	167,113	432,000
Cardiff	277,433	295,173	31,533	21,263	348,009	693,000
Carmarthen	125,100	125,307	24,044	22,633	172,084	343,100
Denbigh	263,364	293,633	42,563	20,341	356,497	405,100
Flint	158,390	147,072	40,561	23,634	214,267	156,100
Glamorgan	334,192	263,636	60,043	80,727	404,406	508,000
Merioneth	111,490	90,231	12,506	4,868	116,605	484,000
Montgomery	307,380	247,554	23,688	9,262	290,504	360,000
Pembroke	219,580	221,187	29,113	19,890	270,112	290,000
Radnor	89,717	112,046	12,621	5,896	130,559	272,440
Totals of Wales	2,134,901	2,206,149	304,020	133,542	2,644,811	4,758,000
Totals of England and Wales	51,879,523	32,655,050	23,205,492	4,078,484	61,340,027	26,528,613

Dr. Beeke's valuation, made in 1798, was as follows:—

Value of land in England . . .	£600,000,000
„ Scotland . . .	120,000,000
Value of houses	200,000,000
Value of tithes	75,000,000
	<hr/>
	£995,000,000

¶ If the two estimates can be received as correct, it would appear that in forty-four years the value of real property has been about doubled in Great Britain.

When Mr. Pitt brought forward his proposal for an income-tax, in the same year (1798) his calculations were based on the following estimate:—

Rent of land	£25,000,000
Tenants' income	18,000,000
Tithes	5,000,000
Mines, canals, &c.	3,750,000
Rent of houses	6,250,000
Profits of professions	2,000,000
Scotland—one-eighth as much as England	7,500,000
Income of residents derived from colonies	5,000,000
Dividends from public funds . . .	15,000,000
Profits of home and foreign trades	40,000,000
	<hr/>
	£127,500,000

The real property included in this estimate is only 45 millions' annual value, and at twenty-five years' purchase would represent a capital of 1,125,000,000*l*. It is evident that the sum computed as the rent of houses cannot include the yearly value of all the dwellings in England, which is now supposed to amount to more than three times the sum estimated by Mr. Pitt in 1798; that estimate, in all probability, excluded farm-houses, and all others below a certain rental.

In a return made to an order of the House of Lords in

May, 1841, for an account of the amount of rental assessed to the sewers-rate in the metropolitan counties of England, and which order was only partially obeyed, it is stated that the rental so assessed in the undermentioned divisions amounted to 5,084,174*l.*, viz.—

Westminster and adjacent parts of Middlesex	£2,788,190
Holborn and Finsbury, Shoreditch and Norton	
Folgate	1,316,013
Tower Hamlets' division	888,596
St. Katharine's precinct	12,964
Poplar	78,411
	<hr/>
	£5,084,174

The Commissioners for Sewers in the City of London did not make any return to this order, but in the Report made in 1837 by the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Municipal Corporations, we find a statement of the rental assessed for sewers-rate in the different wards of the city at different periods, viz.—

In 1771	£457,701
1801	507,372
1831	792,904

The amount assessed in 1831, added to the above sum (5,084,175*l.*), makes a yearly rental of 5,877,078*l.*, thus leaving only 1,416,291*l.* to make up the sum assessed to the poor's rate in the whole of Middlesex in the year 1840-41, which gives good reason for believing that the assessments for poor's rate were made upon less than the actual rental, and that consequently the value of real property in the kingdom must be greater than that given in the table of the Poor Law Commissioners. We learn, from the above returns of the rental of the City of London, that in the thirty years from 1771 to 1801 the annual value of houses increased only 49,671*l.*, or 10·85 per cent., while in the first thirty years of the present century the increased yearly value was 285,532*l.*, or 56·27 per cent. This last-mentioned increase, valued as before at twenty-five

years' purchase, represents a value of 7,138,300*l.* of real property created in thirty years within the limits of the City of London alone. The increased rental of real property in England and Wales during the twenty-five* years that we have now been at peace in Europe exceeds ten millions, representing a capital of 250 millions.

The following statement of the valuation made for the county-rate of the townships which now form the parliamentary borough of Manchester, exhibits a most extraordinary rapidity of increase in the rental of real property since the peace. It is not probable that an equal rate of increase has been experienced in any other locality.

Townships.	1815. £.	1829. £.	1841. £.
Manchester	303,732	371,749	721,743
Chorlton-upon-Medlock	19,484	66,645	137,651
Hulme	9,359	19,678	75,733
Ardwick	11,097	13,004	46,471
Cheetham. . . .	8,524	24,090	38,983
Berwick	1,180	831	1,474
	<hr/> £ 353,376	<hr/> £ 495,997	<hr/> £ 1,022,055

The population of the above townships was—

1811	89,104
1831	182,016
1841	234,925

The increased value between 1815 and 1829, at twenty-five years' purchase, amounted to 3,565,525*l.*, or 40·35 per cent. Between 1829 and 1841 the increase similarly valued has been 13,151,450*l.*, or 106·06 per cent. The total increase since the peace in 1815 has been, in this one borough, 16,716,975*l.*, or 189·22 per cent: the population in the same time has increased about 120 per cent.

The borough of Salford, which, for all practical purposes, must be considered as a part of Manchester, exhibits a still more extraordinary advance. The value of

* See Table, page 137.

property assessed to the county rate in that borough was, in 1815, 918,397*l.*, and in 1841, 2,703,292*l.*, showing an increase of 1,784,895*l.*, or 194·35 per cent., and representing an accumulation of capital equal to 44,622,375*l.*

It will hardly admit of question whether the sums deposited in savings' banks should be considered as additions made to the accumulated wealth of the nation. That those deposits are savings made by the individual contributors, cannot, of course, be questioned; when placed in the hands of the Government Commissioners for investment in public securities, it is true that the capital of others previously so invested is thereby set free, but it does not follow that when this change is made the money is dissipated; it may, and most probably does, find productive employment elsewhere. One thing is clear, viz., that the sums so set free would equally have been required, although the savings' banks deposits had never been made, and therefore that these are, to their full extent, additions to the capital of the country. The advantages of these institutions, considered only in their economical effect, are very great; but these advantages sink into insignificance in comparison with the moral benefits they have conferred. On the one hand, the feeling of honest independence which must, to some extent, be felt by every depositor, cannot fail to have a beneficial influence upon his character; he is no longer forced, at the first approach of sickness or adversity, to become a candidate for the pauper's portion, but can draw upon a store of his own accumulating for sustenance. On the other hand, every person who intrusts his savings to these institutions becomes, by that means, additionally and personally interested in the stability of the institutions of the country.

Banks for savings cannot date their origin earlier than the beginning of the present century. They have been

said to owe their rise to the Rev. Joseph Smith, of Wendover, who, in the year 1799, circulated proposals in his parish to receive any sums in deposit during the summer, and to return the amount at Christmas, with the addition of one-third to the sum as a bounty or reward for the forethought of the depositor. This was clearly not a savings' bank according to what is now understood by the term, neither would such a plan, if ever so extensively followed out—and it does not appear probable that Mr. Smith could have many imitators—be the means of causing any but temporary savings; the very bounty given would insure the withdrawing of the deposits, and most probably the disbursement of the money. The first savings' bank was established in 1804, at Tottenham, in Middlesex, by Mrs. Priscilla Wakefield, and was called the Charitable Bank. In this bank deposits were received, and 5 per cent. interest was allowed upon their amount,—a rate which left a considerable loss to the benevolent individuals by whom Mrs. Wakefield was joined in the undertaking. The society next formed of which we have any account was opened in 1808, at Bath, chiefly through the instrumentality of ladies, for receiving deposits from female servants. The good resulting from these efforts was in due time made manifest; and the successful example thus set was so far followed that in the year 1817 there were seventy savings' banks in operation in England, four in Wales, and four in Ireland. In that year Acts of Parliament were passed to encourage the establishment of such institutions, and to place the fund under the safeguard of the state. By subsequent Acts the provisions were extended to Scotland and the Channel Islands.

The progress of these banks, as shown by the sum received on their account by the Commis

Year ending 20th November.	ENGLAND.		WALES.	
	Depositors.	Amount.	Depositors.	Amount.
		£.		£.
1836	515,444	16,491,949	13,110	422,585
1837	544,449	17,178,041	13,963	455,846
1838	595,425	18,566,490	15,232	498,359
1839	622,468	19,246,221	15,893	525,320
1840	662,338	20,203,438	15,825	521,918
1841	695,791	21,036,190	16,220	527,688
	SCOTLAND.		IRELAND.	
	Depositors.	Amount.	Depositors.	Amount.
1836	6,753	74,086	64,019	1,817,264
1837	13,553	160,902	64,101	1,829,226
1838	22,646	279,994	69,933	2,048,469
1839	34,739	436,032	75,296	2,218,239
1840	43,737	538,961	76,155	2,206,733
1841	50,619	608,509	78,574	2,302,302
Year ending 20th November.	* TOTAL.			
	Depositors.		Amount.	
1836	£599,326		£18,805,884	
1837	636,066		19,624,015	
1838	703,236		21,393,312	
1839	748,396		22,425,812	
1840	798,055		23,471,050	
1841	841,204		24,474,689	

The following statement, made up to the 20th November, 1841, shows the number of depositors in different classes in each division of the kingdom, and the average amount invested by each depositor in the several classes, from which it appears that the number of persons who have thus constituted themselves public creditors is three times as great as that of persons entitled to dividends on the national debt at the same period, viz.—

Number entitled to dividends on the 10th Oct., 1841	89,379
" 5th Jan., 1842	192,970
Total . . .	282,349

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	Num- ber of Depo- sitors.	Amount of Invest- ments.	Average Amount Invested by each Depositor.	Num- ber of Depo- sitors.	Amount of Invest- ments.	Average Amount Invested by each Depositor.
Not exceeding £20	384,634	£. 2,523,654	£. 7	41,045	£. 203,155	£. 5
" " 50	175,697	5,483,897	31	7,127	217,019	30
" " 100	76,496	5,233,164	69	1,578	107,918	68
" " 150	26,483	3,191,335	121	226	27,063	120
" " 200	14,849	2,533,055	171	42	6,932	165
Exceeding.... 200	2,836	681,028	240	..	..	..
Number and Amount of Individual Depositors in Savings' Banks....	680,997	19,656,183	29	50,018	562,067	11
Number and Amount of Charitable Institutions.....	7,569	412,643	55	376	15,499	41
Number and Amount of Friendly Societies in account with Savings' Banks	7,225	967,414	134	225	30,923	137
Total.....	695,791	21,036,190	..	50,619	608,509	..
	WALES.			IRELAND.		
	Num- ber of Depo- sitors.	Amount of Invest- ments.	Average Amount Invested by each Depositor.	Num- ber of Depo- sitors.	Amount of Invest- ments.	Average Amount Invested by each Depositor.
Not exceeding £20	8,186	64,183	8	36,537	271,676	7
" " 50	4,835	149,576	31	23,196	860,823	37
" " 100	1,769	122,307	69	9,042	606,923	67
" " 150	545	65,278	120	2,531	295,364	117
" " 200	236	40,062	170	1,094	180,853	165
Exceeding.... 200	54	12,368	229	122	27,787	223
Number and Amount of Individual Depositors in Savings' Banks....	15,625	454,294	29	77,522	2,243,426	29
Number and Amount of Charitable Institutions	176	10,869	62	657	39,085	60
Number and Amount of Friendly Societies in account with Savings' Banks	419	62,525	149	395	19,791	50
Total	16,220	527,688	..	78,574	2,302,302	..
	TOTAL.					
	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Investments.	Average Amount Invested by each Depositor.			
Not exceeding £20.....	470,402	£. 3,067,668	£. 7			
" " 50.....	215,855	6,666,315	31			
" " 100.....	88,887	6,120,312	69			
" " 150.....	29,785	3,579,040	120			
" " 200.....	16,221	2,700,902	170			
Exceeding.... 200.....	3,012	721,703	240			
Number and Amount of Individual Depositors in Savings' Banks	824,162	22,915,940	28			
Number and Amount of Charitable Institutions ...	3,778	478,096	54			
Number and Amount of Friendly Societies in account with Savings' Banks	3,264	1,080,653	131			
Total.....	831,204	24,474,689	..			

The amount paid by the public for interest on the sums due to the trustees of savings' banks and friendly societies, from 6th August, 1817, to 20th November, 1841, was 13,086,472*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; and as the amount of dividends in public securities invested by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt in respect of the same amounted only to 11,191,323*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, there has resulted a loss to the public from these institutions of 1,895,149*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*, by reason of the rate of interest allowed being greater than that yielded by the securities in which the deposits have been invested. The value of these securities, according to a return made to Parliament in May, 1842, was :—

£.			£.
6,436,322	Consolidated 3 per Cents., at 88 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.		5,712,236
4,134,970	Reduced 3 per Cents.	„ 87 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	3,628,435
5,389,900	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents., 1818	„ 97 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	5,255,153
2,601,700	Reduced 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents.	„ 97 $\frac{3}{4}$ „	2,533,405
5,442,721	New 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents.	„ 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	5,374,687
1,031,589	Old 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents.	„ 97 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	1,003,219
963,950	Exchequer Bills		963,950
<hr/> £26,001,152			<hr/> £ 24,471,085

A savings' bank was established at St. Helier, in the island of Jersey, in January, 1835, between which time and the 20th November, 1841, deposits were made therein by 3206 persons, out of a total population of 47,556, to the amount of 58,630*l.* The accounts kept at this institution distinguish the occupations of depositors, a practice which is followed by the managers of some of these institutions in England. It is to be wished that all would adopt this course, and thus throw light upon the comparative condition and habits of the various divisions found among our labouring population. The most numerous class of depositors in the Jersey savings'

bank are domestic servants, if we except sums invested by parents in the names of their children. Next to servants stand milliners, shopwomen, and sempstresses, these three classes furnishing more than half in number, and nearly one-half in amount, of the entire deposits.

The published accounts of the managers of the Manchester and Salford bank for savings, for the year ending 20th November, 1842, also give these particulars in detail. Having reference to so large and important a population as that of the manufacturing metropolis of England, it is thought desirable to insert the following abstract :—

Number of Depositors.	Sums Deposited.	Total Amount of each Class.		
		£.	s.	d.
8,775	Not exceeding £20 each . . .	56,990	10	4
3,835	Above £20, and not exceeding £50	118,200	10	10
1,484	„ 50 „ 100	102,826	0	9
498	„ 100 „ 150	60,597	13	10
332	„ 150 „ 200	55,977	9	8
13	Exceeding £200	4,148	7	10
<hr/>		<hr/>		
14,937	Individual depositors	398,740	13	3
86	Charitable societies	4,614	5	0
172	Friendly societies	12,928	8	0
<hr/>		<hr/>		
15,195	Total Number of Accounts and Deposits	£416,283	6	3

Classification of Depositors.	Number.	Amount of Deposits.		
		£.	s.	d.
Domestic servants (nearly 7 in 8 females)	3,063	80,009	5	10
Clerks, shopmen, warehousemen, and porters	1,511	41,336	14	4
Minors	3,033	45,153	12	2
Milliners, dress-makers, and needle-women	430	11,139	9	8
Shoemakers, tailors, and hatters	309	8,685	9	1
Cotton spinners, weavers, and their assistants	911	25,531	16	10
Silk spinners, weavers, and their assistants .	131	3,530	0	0

Classification of Depositors.	Number.	Amount of Deposits.		
		£.	s.	d.
Calico printers, bleachers, dyers, packers .	412	13,096	14	7
Engravers and pattern designers . . .	195	5,346	3	6
Mechanics and handicraftsmen . . .	816	23,759	14	3
Bookbinders and letter-press printers . .	73	1,507	12	0
Masons, bricklayers, and their labourers .	390	10,497	13	7
Joiners, coachmakers, and cabinet makers	473	15,391	18	8
Cab and omnibus drivers, mail guards, &c.	41	1,588	19	2
Policemen, soldiers, and pensioners . .	94	2,654	4	3
Professional teachers and artists . . .	323	10,312	16	6
Tradesmen and small shopkeepers . . .	538	20,072	2	2
Farmers, gardeners, and their labourers .	350	13,819	9	11
Descriptions not specified	1,844	65,306	16	9
	<u>14,937</u>	<u>£398,740</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>

CHAPTER III.

INVESTMENTS OF ACCUMULATION FOR PUBLIC OBJECTS.

Buildings for Public Worship in England and Scotland—By Parliamentary Grants—By Corporate Bodies—By Individuals—Bridges—Colleges—Hospitals, &c.—Improvement of Towns—Liverpool—Newcastle-on-Tyne—Docks—Canals—Railways—Turnpike Roads—Gas Works.

It might occupy much space, and would afford but little profit, to attempt making a minute enumeration of the various forms in which the savings of individuals in this country have been invested. Any such enumeration must almost necessarily be incomplete, and even inaccurate, for this, among other reasons, that it would be impossible to determine, with reference to many of such investments, in what degree they can truly be considered in the light of accumulated capital, and in what degree they should be accounted as a part of current expenditure, serving to repair the ravages of time and accident. It would, for example, be absurd to consider as accumulated capital the cost of the 4,400,000 tons of mercantile shipping built and registered within the present century, and which amounts to more by one-third than the whole existing mercantile navy of the kingdom. The same remark might be made, although its propriety may not be so immediately obvious, with regard to other and less perishable works of utility or of ornament. It is, however, a quality inherent in everything of human produc-

tion to be, in some degree, perishable ; and this fact must be taken into account in every estimate of this kind that may be formed. The magnificent and substantial structure which has within the last few years taken the place of the old London Bridge, seems built to last, unimpaired, for ages, and yet nothing can be more certain than its future decay, which might have been prophesied with perfect confidence, even in the absence of the corroborative evidence presented by the very necessity for its construction in the stead of a work which may at one time have been considered equally indestructible.

It will not be correct, on the other hand, to consider in the light of current expenditure the cost of all works constructed in substitution for others, and this is especially the case in regard to such a structure as London Bridge, the probable duration of which will be such that a very inconsiderable sum, if suffered to accumulate at interest, would suffice to produce its fellow whenever the ravages of time shall render its renewal necessary. If it were required to apportion correctly the value of public buildings of this character, distinguishing the part that is of the nature of expenditure from the part which is accumulation, it would be necessary to make periodical valuations of the national works and monuments ; and as no advantage could follow from such an undertaking that would be adequate to the labour it would occasion, we may conclude that the task will never be accomplished.

The object proposed on this occasion is not to determine with any pretension to minute accuracy the amount of the national accumulations, but merely to take a rapid view of some of the more important objects to which they have been applied. Some inquiry on this subject does indeed appear necessary, in order to meet the very common but yet very unaccountable fallacy, that as no

new loans have been for some time contracted by the government in order to supply deficiencies in the public revenue, there are no channels open for the employment of surplus gains. Persons who argue thus, do not suffer themselves to reflect sufficiently, or they could hardly fail to perceive that the fact of loans being required to make good deficient revenues, affords in itself an indication that the power of accumulating exercised by individuals is limited and counteracted by the exigencies of the state, which thus disburses, and in a great part destroys, that which, being otherwise employed as capital, would in various ways give additional energy to the springs of national industry.

We can do little more, in pursuing this inquiry, than take a rapid glance at the works of a permanent character that have been paid for out of the public revenue, *i. e.* by the indirect contributions of the great body of the people.

Among the most important of these works must be placed buildings erected for public worship. Large sums have of late years been expended in the erection of such buildings, partly under the direction of Parliamentary Commissions, by means of sums voted for the purpose by the House of Commons, *viz.*, 1,000,000*l.* voted in 1817, and 500,000*l.* in 1825. It appears from a return made to Parliament by the Commissioners, in July, 1841, that up to that time there had been completed, by means of their help, 281 new churches and chapels in England, and that sixteen other churches were then in progress of erection. In these works they had spent the sum of 2,001,289*l.*, which included 484,800*l.* raised in the different localities by voluntary contributions, local rates, and loans. The estimated cost for the completion of the sixteen churches and chapels then in

the course of erection, was stated to be 44,084*l*. These sums, large as they are, do not comprise the whole of what has been expended in building sacred edifices during the period embraced in this inquiry. In addition to the sums granted by the Parliamentary Commissioners, 1,500,000*l*. in Exchequer Bills have been advanced on loan to other parties for the same purpose. It must not be imagined that the duty of providing places for the public worship of our rapidly increasing population was neglected up to the year in which the aid of parliament was first given. There is not any record kept of the number of such new buildings ; but judging from what has passed under his own observation, every one who is old enough to have borne a part in the business of life during the earlier years of this century, must be of opinion that the number was very considerable. There have been besides very many cases, both before and since the above described interference of Parliament, in which churches and chapels have been built and endowed by means of funds raised either by voluntary subscriptions, or under the powers of private local acts*, and not a few churches have, in the same period, been erected through the munificence and piety of individuals, but of all these not any estimate can be formed. It is equally impossible to ascertain the number or the cost of places of worship built by various denominations of worshippers not in communion with the national church, the cost of which buildings is wholly provided by the voluntary contributions of the congregations. If all these matters are duly considered, there appear to be grounds for believing that the capital invested in these sacred

* The expenditure of the corporation of Liverpool for building churches amounted in the ten years ending with 1832 to more than 120,000*l*.

edifices has fully kept pace with the increase of the national wealth.

In addition to the sums above mentioned, and which have been expended in England, a parliamentary grant of 50,000*l.* was made, in 1825, for building churches in the Highlands and islands of Scotland, and various grants were made for the like purpose in Ireland, where, between 1801 and 1820, there was thus expended of the public money 749,551*l.*

The following list of some of the principal public works and buildings erected of late years (chiefly in the metropolis), will at least serve to show that we of the present day are not unmindful of the propriety of giving to those who are to succeed us on this world some evidence of our desire to be favourably remembered for the splendour, the durability, and the practical utility of works which have engaged our attention, and which have afforded a field for displaying the skill and genius of our architects and engineers :—

Queen's Palace at Pimlico.
Breakwater, Plymouth.
London Bridge and approaches.
Southwark Iron Bridge.
Vauxhall Iron Bridge.
Waterloo Bridge.
Menai Suspension Bridge.
Hammersmith Suspension Bridge.
Thames Tunnel at Rotherhithe.
Custom House, London.
Custom House, Liverpool.
General Post Office, London.
National Gallery, Trafalgar Square.
London University College.
King's College, London.
Bethlehem Hospital.
North London Hospital.
Charing Cross Hospital.

A very large part of the public buildings of England are erected at the cost of local bodies, but the funds out of which their cost is defrayed are not the less, therefore, to be considered as savings or accumulations. Even in cases where money is borrowed for the purpose, it must be supplied through the economy of individuals, who thus find a profitable channel for the employment of their surplus funds.

Hardly any one of the large manufacturing and trading towns of the kingdom can be mentioned which does not afford this proof of the existence and the employment of increasing wealth. In the town of Liverpool alone there has been expended, during the last half century, upwards of 1,600,000*l.* “in widening streets, and in erecting churches, charity schools, markets, and other public buildings.” Liverpool is a very wealthy corporation, having an income of upwards of 320,000*l.* per annum, and it would not be correct to cite its example as a fair measure of what has been done in other places. There is, however, another town in the northern part of England, where, within the last few years, capital to even a greater amount than that expended during half a century in Liverpool, has been employed for its embellishment. In the very heart of the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne, surrounded by buildings, and concealed from general view, there was, within the last five years, a large unoccupied space called the Nun’s Field, and described as a “most desolate and neglected wilderness.” This space, through the genius and enterprise of one man, has now been converted into streets, which, for architectural beauty, may challenge comparison with anything to be found in any city of Europe. The cost of this unexampled improvement is said to have amounted to about two millions of pounds.

In the metropolis, as might reasonably be supposed,

the investment of capital for such objects by government, by various municipal and charitable bodies, by public companies, and by individuals, has been to a greater extent. For the construction of docks alone there have been expended in London, since the beginning of this century, more than 8,000,000*l.* The four bridges built during the same time have cost 4,000,000*l.*; and the Tunnel under the Thames at Rotherhithe has absorbed 614,000*l.* The new Post Office has cost 499,360*l.*

The greatest number of the canals now in operation in England were constructed during the second half of the last century, when the spirit of enterprise was so much exerted in this direction that canals were opened in almost every quarter that offered sufficient facilities for their execution, and that promised a fair remuneration for the capital expended. The number of these works undertaken since the beginning of the present century has consequently been small in comparison with previous undertakings, but much has, nevertheless, been done for the extension and improvement of lines previously opened. It is not possible to ascertain with exactness the amount of money that has thus been invested in this description of property, but after a careful examination of the various Acts of Parliament that have been passed since the beginning of 1801, authorizing the raising of money for the purpose, it may be stated that the amount thus invested within the kingdom has not been less than eleven millions of pounds, including in this amount sums expended for improving navigable rivers, and the cost also of that truly magnificent work the Caledonian Canal, which alone amounted to rather more than 1,000,000*l.* Of the whole sum invested in this description of property, about 4,500,000*l.* has been applied to the construction of

new, and about 6,500,000*l.* to the extension and improvement of old works. The amounts here stated are probably much within the truth, as they include only the sums which the different adventurers have been authorized to raise in the form of shares, without taking any account of the further amounts which it is customary to allow the shareholders to borrow on the security of their property, and of which permission it is well known that a great proportion of the companies have availed themselves to the full extent of their authority.

The extension that has been given to the railway system in this country, during the last fifteen years, has called for the investment of far larger sums than have been absorbed by canals. The intention of the first promoters of railways was to provide for the conveyance of goods, and by a cheaper mode than was offered by means of canals. It is singular that with regard to both these expectations the results have proved them to be without foundation. Hitherto rail-roads have not been found to act in injurious competition with water conveyance for the transmission of goods, and the cost of their construction has been, beyond all comparison, greater than anything known in the history of canal-cutting. With the exception of the great coal-fields of England, in which rail-road conveyance is necessarily used in preference to canals, it is not often found profitable to substitute land for water conveyance. An exception must also be made in the peculiar case of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, on which, from the nature of the trade between the two towns, time often forms so important an ingredient that the higher rate of charge is submitted to in order to secure the more important object of a favourable market. But even in this case not any fall-

ing off has been experienced in the tonnage conveyed upon the canal, which, on the contrary, has even increased,—the growth of the manufactures of Manchester and the surrounding district having been so great that, but for the facility afforded by the rail-road, it would have been hardly possible to convey the quantities of raw materials and manufactured goods which now pass between the factories and the port of shipment. The advantage of this line of rail-road for the conveyance of merchandise during periods of frost may be readily imagined.

It was stated in a paper presented to the House of Commons during the session of 1839, that the number of rail-road Acts passed between 1st January, 1826, and 31st December, 1838, was 113; that the capital in joint-stock, authorized to be raised by these Acts, amounted to 41,610,814*l.*; and that the various incorporated companies were farther authorized to raise money by loan to the amount of 16,177,630*l.*; forming together investments amounting to 57,788,444*l.*

Several of the companies thus incorporated have not proceeded to put their Acts in force, but the projects thus in abeyance are, for the most part, inconsiderable as regards their capital; nearly all the great and expensive lines comprised in the accounts being either completed or in the course of construction. It may be seen, by referring to a table already given (Vol. ii. page 63), that the number of railways constructed under Acts of Parliament before 1826 was only 29, and that the capital expended upon them fell somewhat short of 1,500,000*l.* The works undertaken since have most of them been of far greater importance. One of them, that between London and Birmingham, has cost nearly six millions. The outlay on the Great Western Railway has exceeded six millions. The expenditure on the London and South-

ampton line has exceeded 2,400,000*l.*, and on the North Midland Railway 3,200,000*l.* have been disbursed. In almost every case the cost has very far exceeded the sums mentioned in the Acts of incorporation, and it therefore seems reasonable to believe that the investments of the public in this description of property will very soon reach at least to the amount stated in the paper above quoted. It is certainly within the mark to estimate that more than 40,000,000*l.* have already been expended on the different railway undertakings in Great Britain.

The system of management employed in this country for the construction and maintenance of turnpike roads, renders it impossible to ascertain the amount of capital invested in that branch of public works. The whole service is performed in various localities or sections, under the direction of trustees, selected generally from among gentlemen who reside within the districts through which the roads are carried, and no general superintendence or control exists which would afford any precise information of a statistical kind on the subject. The result of inquiries made by direction of the House of Commons in 1818 and 1829, has already been given (Vol. ii. page 7), from which it appears that the addition made to our turnpike roads between these two years was 1000 miles. If the same rate of increase had been realized throughout the years that have elapsed of the present century, there would now be 3250 miles more of turnpike roads in England and Wales than existed at the beginning of 1801; and assuming that the cost of construction was on the average 1760*l.* per mile, the sum mentioned in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1836, by Sir James M'Adam, as the average cost of road-making, the capital invested

in their construction must have amounted to 5,720,000*l*. This, however, is not one of the subjects upon which we can assume the operation of any constant law. Every new line of road that is opened diminishes the necessity for additional undertakings. In the infancy of a country the necessity for the construction of roads in all directions throughout its extent is great and urgent, but the time may well arrive in which the same country may be fully provided with these lines of communication, and when nothing more is needed than the maintenance or improvement of existing roads. The propriety of this remark is apparently confirmed by the fact that the number of road-bills that received the royal assent in the five years from 1829 to 1833 was 340; while in the following five years, from 1834 to 1838, the number was only 121.

Under a recent Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 80), returns have been made of the income and expenditure of the several turnpike trusts in England and Wales, and from these returns the following particulars are derived :—

	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Total income . . .	1,753,544	1,796,524	1,776,586	1,733,291
Total expenditure . . .	1,828,730	1,777,368	1,780,349	1,780,857
Total debts . . .	8,453,391	8,517,813	8,577,132	8,670,399
Paid for land . . .	20,185	27,839	14,205	18,580
Paid for improvements	217,152	211,808	204,740	208,093

	1838.	1839.	1840.
	£.	£.	£.
Total income	1,670,475	1,668,799	1,651,887
Total expenditure	1,670,487	1,666,106	1,659,153
Total debts	8,735,416	8,774,927	8,806,085
Paid for land	14,919	15,194	16,147
Paid for improvements . . .	154,630	142,863	159,712

The returns do not embrace a later period than 1840, and they do not contain any statement of the extent of new roads constructed, nor of the length of those in existence.

During the last year of the series (1840) the income was derived from—

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Revenue received from tolls .	1,498,415	18	11			
Parish composition in lieu of statute duty	22,070	15	5			
Estimated value of statute duty performed	8,510	12	8			
Revenue from fines	590	18	1			
Revenue from incidental receipts	29,084	10	9			
Borrowed on security of tolls .	96,214	6	4			
	<hr/>			1,654,887	2	2

The expenditure was for—

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Manual labour	386,842	14	9			
Team labour, and carriage of materials	184,794	9	1			
Materials for surface repairs	219,832	2	1			
Land purchased	16,147	0	5			
Damage done in obtaining materials	9,126	6	7			
Tradesmen's bills.	60,694	5	6			
Salaries of treasurers, clerks, and surveyors	95,203	5	11			
Law charges	34,186	13	11			
Interest of debt	297,045	0	2			
Improvements	159,712	6	3			
Debts paid off	125,878	12	8			
Incidental expenses	61,180	3	6			
Estimated value of statute duty performed	8,510	12	8			
	<hr/>			1,659,153	13	6

The capital embarked in Gas Companies in London alone exceeds two millions of money; and as there is now

hardly a town of any magnitude in England and Scotland in which gas lighting has not been introduced, it is probably much within the mark to estimate the works provided for the purpose at ten millions. One company managed in London, but carrying on its operations chiefly in Ireland (The United General Gas Light Company), has a capital employed of 400,000*l.*; and another incorporation, The Imperial Continental Gas Company, has employed 250,000*l.* of English accumulations for providing light in various cities of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

INVESTMENTS FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES.

Steam Engines in Birmingham—Shipping—Steam Vessels—Investments in Foreign Countries—Loans—Mines, &c., in British Colonies—Investments of Foreigners in our Public Funds withdrawn, and replaced by Savings of British Subjects—Live Stock—Investments for Improvement of Landed Estates.

THE additional amount of fixed capital employed from time to time for trading and manufacturing purposes it is not possible to estimate. It is probable that, through the greater economy and simplicity of manufacturing processes, the amount of the national accumulations thus applied have not been altogether proportioned to the increase of the manufactures; but on the other hand, it must be considered that the necessary effect of that simplification is, for a time at least, to raise profits, and thereby to induce the employment of a larger amount of capital, until by competition the equilibrium shall be restored, when the rate of profit will be reduced to the average current rate within the kingdom.

The investment of capital in this direction may, however, have been exceedingly great, although it may have fallen short proportionally to the increase in the produce. It was stated in a paper drawn up under the inspection of a committee of gentlemen belonging to the town of Birmingham, and which was read at the statistical section of the British Association, during its meeting in that town in 1839, that the number of steam engines erected

and employed in the various manufactories of Birmingham between 1780 (the date of their first introduction) and 1815 was only 42; and that the number so employed in 1839 was 240, showing an increase since the war of 198 engines, the larger proportion (120 engines) having been added since 1830.

The great extension given to the use of machinery in other branches of manufactures, and especially in the cotton manufacture, during the present century, has already been described, (Section ii. Chapter ii. pp. 204 and 239). The steam power newly provided in 1835 in the cotton districts of Lancashire and its immediate vicinity, was there shown to be more than seventeen times as great as the whole steam power in use in Manchester at the beginning of the century. In the same year (1835) the returns made by the Inspectors of Factories stated that the number of power-looms employed in the cotton manufactures was 109,626, the whole of which were made and put to use since 1801.

The great increase shown to have been made to the foreign trade of the country, has called for the employment of a much larger amount of capital now than formerly in shipping. The number and tonnage of merchant vessels belonging to the British Empire were—

In 1803	20,893 ships	2,167,863 tons.
1814	24,418 „	2 616,965 „
1841	30,052 „	3,512,480 „

The increase between 1803 and 1814 appears to have been 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and between 1814 and 1841 the increased tonnage was 34 per cent. It is not difficult to account for this comparative falling off. The first period was one of war, while the second has been one of peace; and it is well known that a much larger provision of

shipping is necessary for the prosecution of an equal amount of trade during war than suffices during peace, when ships make the best of their way to their several ports of destination without having to wait for convoys. The greater economy of time thus attained has, of late years, been vastly augmented through the employment of steam vessels. Besides these circumstances, there was another cause which required the employment of a much larger tonnage during war than has since been needed. That part of the public service which regarded the conveyance of troops and stores was, in a great measure, carried on through the employment of private vessels hired by the government for the purpose. Taking all these circumstances into calculation, it will be easily understood how the greatly augmented trade of the country is now prosecuted with so comparatively small an increased amount of shipping. As regards the capital embarked in the property of mercantile vessels, it is probably not much greater now than it was at any period between 1803 and 1814, owing to the smaller cost of the various materials required for the construction and equipment of vessels, and which contrivails, to a great degree, not only the increased tonnage in existence, but also the increased cost of that part of our mercantile marine which is propelled by steam machinery. The number and tonnage of steam vessels belonging to the United Kingdom and its dependencies at the end of 1841, was 856 vessels of 104,845 tons burthen; but owing to the custom of not including in the register the tonnage contents of that part of these vessels which is occupied by their machinery, the actual tonnage amounted to 188,000 tons. The computed power of the engines employed was equal to that of 75,000 horses. The accumulation of capital thus employed may be judged from this fact, that

of the 856 steam vessels belonging to the British Empire at the end of 1841, there were registered in—

1837	78
1838	59
1839	65
1840	78
1841	54

The whole have been built since 1814.

A very large amount of capital belonging to individuals in this country, the result of their savings, has of late years sought profitable investment in other lands. It has been computed that the United States of America have, during the last five years, absorbed in this manner more than twenty-five millions of English capital, which sum has been invested in various public undertakings, such as canals, railroads, and banks, in that country. Large sums have also been, from time to time, invested in the public securities of that and other foreign governments,—not always, indeed, with a profitable result.

When the security thus accepted proves good, there can be no reasonable objection made to this course. We may feel quite sure that capital would not thus be sent abroad but with the reasonable expectation of obtaining for its use a greater return than could be secured at home, and by such means the accumulation of property is accelerated. Besides the ultimate advantage, there results this present good from the transmission of our savings to other lands, that it sets in motion the springs of industry to provide the means for that transmission. It is not money, in the usual acceptation of the word, that thus finds its way abroad for investment, but products and manufactures, the results of British industry. We have no surplus bullion out of which such

advances could be made, and if we had, it would be serviceable to us, although not in the same degree, thus to dispose of it. It may be, in insulated cases, and under temporary influences, that bullion is exported for such a purpose at times when we cannot very well spare it, but even then the evil is soon remedied through the ordinary and well-understood operations, either direct or indirect, of commerce.

Large sums have, from time to time, been lent to various foreign states by English capitalists, whose money has been put to great hazard, and in some cases lost. On the other hand, many foreign loans have been contracted by our merchants which have proved highly profitable through the progressive sale of the stock in foreign countries at higher than the contract prices. It is evidently impossible to form any correct estimate of the profit or loss which has resulted to the country from these various operations; the general impression is, that hitherto the losses have much exceeded the gains.

Amid the fever of speculation that arose in 1824-5, attention was drawn towards the mines of South America and Mexico, and several companies were formed with large capitals, to be employed in once more bringing those store-houses of the precious metals into productive operation. The capitals embarked, and it may be said sunk, in a few only of those undertakings, amounted to five millions sterling. By this means the supply of silver and gold towards the general circulation has been augmented, but at an expense to the adventurers so much greater than the returns, that the capitals originally subscribed may in most cases be considered lost. Investment has also been found for more than two millions and a half of money by joint-stock associations for the purchase and sale of lands in our North American and Australian colonies.

During the war which led to the downfall of Napoleon, a general feeling of insecurity pervaded the Continent, and large sums were invested by foreigners in the public funds of England with a view to safe custody. These investments were very convenient to us while such constant and great additions were being made to the national debt, and no doubt tended to make the terms of borrowing more favourable to our government than they otherwise might have been. An additional inducement to the foreign capitalist to place his money in this security was offered by the assurance that the income thus arising would not be subjected to deduction by taxation. It is a mistake to suppose that in the exemption from property-tax then extended to foreign holders of a portion of our public funds, any favour was shown to them. To subject the dividends to taxation would have been not only impolitic, it would have been unjust. The property-tax was collected from British subjects, holders of stock, at the times when the dividends were paid, because it afforded a convenient opportunity for collecting a tax imposed by law, not upon the public debt of the state but upon the incomes of its subjects.

We learn, from the claims made on the part of foreigners to this exemption from property-tax, that the amount of stock held by them in 1813 amounted to more than twenty millions.

With the return of peace came comparative security for capital, and increased means for its profitable investment abroad. The increased marketable value then given to the public funds enabled the foreign holders to realize a considerable profit from the sale of their investments. For all these reasons a very large part of the money thus placed was withdrawn from England, and our capitalists found in this circumstance means for the in-

vestment of some of their accumulations. In 1815, the first year of peace and the last year of the property-tax, the amount of stock belonging to foreigners had already been reduced by the sum of three millions.

The property invested in live stock in this kingdom has evidently increased in a greater proportion than the population. It will be seen, by referring to the table of prices paid for beef and mutton at St. Thomas's Hospital, that they have fallen considerably since the beginning of the century. This fact alone proves that the proportionate supply is greater now than it was thirty or forty years ago, and that the improvements adopted in the means used for rearing and fattening animals for human food have been attended with much saving. The greater number of live stock has further tended to increase the abundance, and so to diminish the cost, of other kinds of agricultural produce by affording greater means for enriching the soil.

A large proportion of the aggregate savings of the nation must have been continually invested in improvements connected with agriculture, and the capital thus employed has given a permanently increased value to the lands upon which it has been expended. One nobleman, the late Earl of Leicester, invested more than half a million of money in the permanent improvement of his estates. Improvements thus made have, in their turn, provided means for further accumulations, and have, as already shown, enabled our rapidly increasing population to draw almost as sufficient a supply of food from our native soil as it was made to yield when our numbers were more limited. This channel for the employment of capital is, to all appearance, far from being yet filled. There is, perhaps, no part of the kingdom in which money might not now be laid out to advantage in draining lands, or in the application of chemical science, for the improved produc-

tiveness of the soil : in many parts such improvements have hitherto been only very imperfectly applied, while there are other places in which they have not yet been begun. No measure would tend more directly to this desirable end than the removal of those legislative restrictions against the trade in agricultural produce which encourage sloth by promising to diminish competition, that spur which has driven forward to such successful results other branches of native industry to which the legislature has not intended to be equally indulgent.

SECTION VII. MORAL PROGRESS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Has our Moral kept pace with our Material Progress?—Diminution of Gross and Sensual Vice—General Prevalence of Selfishness—Wretchedness of our Poor Population—Multiplication of Criminal Offenders—Reasons for expecting Amendment in this respect.

It has been shown, in preceding sections of these volumes, that since the beginning of the present century this kingdom has made the most important advances in population, in wealth, and in the various arts of life which are capable of ministering to man's material enjoyments. It is now proposed to consider whether equal advances have been made in regard to his moral condition and to the general tone of society. If our inquiries on this head do not admit of satisfactory answers—if, while wealth has been accumulated and luxuries have been multiplied, vice has been thereby engendered, and misery increased—the advantages of our progress may well be questioned. It were better (if it were possible), in such case, that we should return to the condition of poverty, make over our wealth-procuring inventions to other people, or, better still, consign them to annihilation, and, together with their poverty, resume the simplicity and comparative innocence of our forefathers.

An inquiry of this nature, honestly and fearlessly conducted, would, in all likelihood, lead us to conclusions of a mixed and partial character. If we should dis-

cover, on the one hand, that the general addiction to gross and sensual vices has been checked and lessened, we might, on the other hand, be forced to admit that we have lost some portion of the manly virtues by which our ancestors were characterized—that in our daily intercourse we have swerved from the road of honesty and truthfulness into the paths of expediency and conventionalism—that in our individual strivings after riches and position, the feeling of patriotism has been deadened until our whole existence has become so tainted by selfishness that we suffer ourselves to view the interests of our country only as they may affect our individual case or progress, and are become so heedless of national honour as willingly to accept advantages which our power may have wrested from others, although at the expense of our character for justice, and even to the outraging of international law.

It would be foreign to the object of these pages to pursue the subject in this direction; but it would occasion deep regret if, in exhibiting the favourable side of the picture, and in giving utterance to hopes for the future, grounded upon the efforts for moral and intellectual improvement which now are happily in action around us, it could be held that there were implied any approval of national crime, or any feelings save those of shame and humiliation at our departure from that course of rectitude which was wont to make this favoured land more honoured for its justice than it was respected for its power.

The demoralizing tendency of riches has ever been a favourite theme for declamation with poets and moralists.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates" ————

is a sentiment which has been repeated until it has gained at least the nominal assent of many seriously-disposed but imperfectly-informed persons among us. They have not stopped to consider how far the evils which they deplore have their origin in or any connexion with increasing wealth, but have taken it for granted that, as the evils and the wealth have increased together, they must necessarily be considered as cause and effect.

It must be owned that our multiplied abodes of want, of wretchedness, and of crime—our town populations huddled together in ill-ventilated and undrained courts and cellars—our numerous workhouses filled to overflowing with the children of want—and our prisons (scarcely less numerous) overloaded with the votaries of crime, do indeed but too sadly and too strongly attest that all is not as it should be with us as regards this most important branch of human progress.

If we refer to our criminal returns, it will be found that in England and Wales the number of persons committed for trial is now five times as great as it was at the beginning of the century; while in Ireland the proportionate increase has been even more appalling, there having been in 1839 seven-fold the number of committals that were made in 1805, the earliest year for which our records are available. There are not any accounts of so early a date by which we are able to make a similar comparison for Scotland, but comparing the number of committals in 1815 with those in 1839, we find that in those twenty-four years they have augmented nearly six-fold.

We have here *prima facie* evidence that the increase of crime has far outstripped the increase of our population, and without doubt of our wealth also, great as their increase has been; and it behoves us to inquire seriously,

honestly, and fearlessly, how far those frightful appearances are founded in truth,—and, if they be so founded, whether the circumstances under which they have occurred are necessarily connected, or whether their simultaneous occurrence be not rather attributable to ill-considered interference, or to some deficiency or neglect on the part of those whose duty should have prompted them to the adoption of measures more effectual than have been used for the correction of the evil. It would indeed be a heart-sickening prospect if, in looking forward to the continued progress of our country in its economical relations, we must also contemplate the still greater multiplication of its criminals. The nature of the case does not indeed admit of our realizing such a future as is here supposed, for, ere it could be reached, the whole physical frame-work of society must be broken up. Neither should we be willing to admit—notwithstanding the experience of the last forty years—the *moral* possibility of such a result. The growing attention that is bestowed upon this subject in England, and not in England only but in every country where the like result has been experienced, is beginning to produce its legitimate fruit. Governments are at least awakened to the necessity of counteracting the evil tendencies that have made such fearful progress. It is seen, and is beginning to be practically acknowledged, that a great part of the moral evil under which societies are suffering is the offspring of ignorance, and that without insisting upon any very high degree of perfectibility in human nature, we may reasonably hope that the removal of that ignorance will do much towards restoring moral health to communities, and thus fit them for the rational enjoyment of blessings so increasingly offered for their acceptance. That this hope is not a

mere vision of the philanthropist, but is founded upon the knowledge of what is daily passing around us, will be seen when we come to consider the intellectual condition of those who have been made to appear at the bar of justice, and find how small a proportion among them have received any beyond the first elements of instruction. When we are thus convinced of the powerful influence of instruction, even as hitherto communicated, in restraining from the open violation of laws, what may we not reasonably hope will be the power of that moral training which it is now felt must be employed to stamp its proper value upon knowledge? To suppose that blessings must necessarily be accompanied by countervailing curses, is to impute a capital deficiency to the intentions of Providence, and amounts to a practical denial of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Almighty!

The nature of the investigations attempted in these volumes renders imperative the endeavour to penetrate below the surface, in order to determine how far the appearances of good and of evil which surround us are real or fallacious.

CHAPTER II.

CRIME.

Multiplication of Crimes against Property—Diminution of Crimes of Violence—Numbers of Offenders in England and Wales, 1805 to 1841, and Number of Executions—Increased Proportion of Convictions in the later Years—Severity of our Criminal Code and consequent Impunity of Offenders—Reforms in the Criminal Law—Historical Sketch of their Progress—Classification of Offences—Comparison of 1805 with 1841 in respect of Criminals and Population in each County—Comparison of Agricultural with Manufacturing Counties—Classification of Offenders with regard to Ages—Increase of Juvenile Offenders—Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst—Classification according to Intellectual Condition—Proportion of Sexes—Proportion of educated Offenders to Population—Analysis of Offences committed by educated Persons, 1840 and 1841—False Conclusions drawn from French Criminal Returns concerning the Effects of Instruction. SCOTLAND: Superiority of its Criminal Jurisprudence—Offenders, 1830 to 1841—Classification according to Offences—Sex and Intellectual Condition—Proportion of Convictions—Ages of Offenders—Juvenile Offenders—Analysis of Crimes committed by educated Persons. IRELAND: Educated Offenders not distinguished as in England and Scotland—Comparative Morality of different Classes—Offenders in Ireland, 1805 to 1812—Proportion of Convictions—Offenders, 1822 to 1834, and Number executed in those Years—Committals and Convictions classified, 1835 to 1841, and Number executed—Extraordinary Fluctuations of Numbers in different Years—Proportionate Ages of Offenders—Incompleteness of Irish Criminal Returns—Numbers and Proportions of Offenders wholly ignorant, and who could read and write—Proportions of Juvenile Offenders, England, Scotland, and Ireland—Improvements in Prison Discipline.

There is frequently a tendency in the human mind to magnify the importance of all that belongs to the present

moment ; and this tendency is peculiarly active as regards the evils by which we may be assailed or surrounded. We read of the vices and crimes of our forefathers, and especially such of them as have been notably diminished in our day, without any of those feelings of personal annoyance which make us so peculiarly sensitive while dealing with the faults of which we are the witnesses or the victims. Much research is necessary before we can place ourselves in the condition to form any correct judgment on such a subject, and much self-examination before we can be certain that our verdict is just.

If we consult the reports of Parliamentary Committees, or other publications upon these questions, which appeared in former years, we shall see that society then found as much cause for complaint and grief through the prevalence of crime as we find at the present day ; and, further, we cannot but be struck with the fact, that however prevalent offences may now be against property, we enjoy a far greater degree of protection from personal violence than our forefathers. In the early part of last century it was no uncommon thing for persons to be knocked down and robbed at noon-day in the public thoroughfares of London, while the roads in all directions were infested by robbers on foot and on horseback, who were ready for the commission of any number of murders, if met by resistance on the part of those whom they attacked. Even since the beginning of the present century, it happened to a physician, who, in the performance of his professional duty, was frequently obliged to cross Blackheath at all hours of the night, that for the preservation of his own life he at different times found himself under the necessity of shooting several highwaymen by whom his carriage was

attacked. The highway robberies and even murders committed upon what was then Hounslow Heath were of such frequent occurrence that they seemed almost matters of course, and he was considered a bold man who would venture alone to cross that spot after night-fall.

The author has been told by gentlemen now living, who were accustomed to repair after business hours to their residences in the environs of London, and particularly on the south side of the Thames, at Dulwich and Norwood, that it was the uniform practice to appoint some place of rendezvous from which they proceeded in a body for mutual protection.

These things have passed away and are become only matters of tradition. One cause of their diminution has been the greater use of paper money, and consequently the smaller amount of coin which travellers carry with them, by which means the risk of after-detection is greatly increased; but the chief means of suppression are found in our improved system of police, which, while it has succeeded to a great extent in putting down these graver outrages, has brought to light numerous minor delinquencies, and placed in our criminal records offences which previously passed unpunished, or were summarily dealt with by the populace. We might search those records of former periods in vain for the evidence of many offences which now swell the calendar—not that the offences were unknown, but that the punishment of them was not reserved for the magistrate. The pickpocket, for example, who should be detected in the commission of his offence, was dragged by the mob to the nearest pump, half drowned, and then allowed to depart.

The following Table shows the number of males and

females committed for trial in England and Wales in each year from 1805 to 1841; the number in each of those years that were convicted, distinguishing those sentenced to death, those actually executed, and, among the latter number, those executed for the crime of murder.

Years.	Committed for Trial.			Number Con- victed.	Sen- tenced to Death.	Exe- cuted.	Exe- cuted for Murder
	Males.	Females.	Total.				
1805	3,267	1,338	4,605	9,783	350	68	10
1806	3,120	1,226	4,346	2,515	325	57	5
1807	3,169	1,287	4,456	2,567	343	53	16
1808	3,332	1,403	4,735	2,723	338	39	8
1809	3,776	1,554	5,330	3,238	399	60	9
1810	3,733	1,413	5,146	3,158	476	67	9
1811	3,859	1,478	5,337	3,163	404	45	7
1812	4,091	1,585	5,676	3,913	532	82	16
1813	5,433	1,731	7,164	4,422	713	120	25
1814	4,825	1,554	6,390	4,025	518	70	23
1815	6,036	1,782	7,818	4,893	553	57	15
1816	7,347	1,744	9,091	5,797	690	95	21
1817	11,758	2,174	13,932	9,056	1,302	115	25
1818	11,335	2,232	13,567	8,958	1,354	97	13
1819	12,075	2,179	14,254	9,510	1,314	103	15
1820	11,595	2,115	13,710	9,318	1,226	107	10
1821	11,173	1,942	13,115	8,788	1,134	114	22
1822	10,309	1,872	12,181	8,208	1,016	97	18
1823	10,342	1,921	12,263	8,204	968	54	11
1824	11,475	2,223	13,698	9,425	1,066	49	15
1825	11,689	2,548	14,237	9,954	1,036	50	10
1826	13,472	2,692	16,164	11,107	1,203	57	10
1827	15,154	3,770	18,924	12,567	1,529	73	11
1828	13,832	3,732	17,564	11,723	1,165	58	17
1829	15,556	3,119	18,675	13,261	1,285	74	13
1830	15,135	2,972	18,107	12,605	1,397	46	14
1831	16,600	3,047	19,647	13,820	1,601	52	12
1832	17,486	3,343	20,829	14,947	1,449	54	15
1833	16,804	3,268	20,072	14,446	831	33	6
1834	18,880	3,571	22,451	15,995	480	34	12
1835	17,275	3,436	20,711	14,729	523	34	21
1836	17,248	3,736	20,984	14,771	494	17	8
1837	19,407	4,205	23,612	17,080	438	8	8
1838	18,905	4,169	23,074	16,785	116	6	5
1839	19,831	4,612	24,443	17,832	56	11	10
1840	21,975	5,212	27,187	19,947	77	9	9
1841	22,560	5,200	27,760	20,280	80	10	10

The first thing that must strike every one on consulting this Table, is—after the appalling increase in

the number of convicts—the different proportion which females bear now to males, compared with the proportion which they bore in the earlier years of the statement. In 1805, the proportion of females to the whole committals was 29 per cent. ; whereas in 1841 the proportion was less than 19 per cent. The number of convictions in proportion to committals is now much greater than formerly. In the five years at the beginning of the above series, the convictions amounted to 58·8 per cent. ; while in the five years ending with 1841 the proportion was 72·8 per cent. This change is probably attributable to a combination of various causes, such as the allowance of their expenses to prosecutors and witnesses, which has secured their attendance at trials ; the simplification of the laws ; and the experience in criminal matters of a large body of trained police officers. This effect has doubtless, too, been in great part a consequence of successive mitigations of the severity by which our criminal code was formerly characterized, and which indisposed juries to convict in cases where the penalty was incommensurate with the offence. It was a cruel position in which every citizen was liable to be placed, where he must either do violence to his own conscience by acquitting the guilty, or feel himself to be the abettor of harsh and unjust legislation. We have the means in these figures of estimating the first-named of those evils ; but who can number to us the cases of anguish where men of feeling and of conscience gave over their fellow-creatures to the mercies of the hangman, in expiation of some comparatively petty offences committed possibly through distress. It might have proved more merciful in the end had jurymen withstood in every case the yearnings of humanity, and thrown upon the government the reproach of our unjust and sanguinary laws,

since they might thus have been sooner rendered impossible of execution.*

This was only one part of the evil consequences of our former severity. The same feeling which induced jurymen to acquit, indisposed those against whom crimes had been committed to accuse; and we may reasonably imagine that the number of persons who thus escaped prosecution was much greater than that of the class who were wrongfully acquitted, because the man who had been robbed or injured did no violence to his conscience in withholding the charge; he had all the motives here explained leading him to a merciful course, and none of the opposing restraint caused by the jurymen's oath. In this manner malefactors escaped, and an additional incentive to criminal courses was provided.

The amount of guilt and of wretchedness which might fairly be imputed to the carelessness or ignorance of the British parliament on all matters relating to the repression of crime, would, if any estimate could be formed on the subject, prove an emphatic warning to legislators. The course pursued for the purpose by parliament was for a long period only a series of wretched expedients. When, by the greater frequency of its occurrence, or by some notorious instance, any particular offence forced itself upon public attention, it was not the rule, as reason would have dictated, to examine and remove the causes of the increase, but to multiply the terrors of the law to a degree out of all proportion with the guilt of the offenders. By this severity, or possibly through circumstances distinct from legislation,

* Juries frequently forgot their oath, "to find a true verdict according to the evidence"—in fact perjured themselves—by reducing the amount sworn to as the value of stolen property, in order to avoid the capital conviction.

the tendency to commit that particular crime may have been lessened, until the feeling of vengeance under which the law was made would pass away; its execution would then be rendered impossible, and it would become as great a nuisance as the offence against which it was enacted through the impunity consequent upon its disproportionate severity.

This is no longer matter for speculation or conjecture. Our criminal code has now been for some years relieved from a great part of the reproach so justly charged against it, and we can refer to parliamentary returns for confirmation of the views here expressed.

We learn from the interesting explanations prefixed to the criminal returns for England and Wales, by Mr. Redgrave, of the Home-office, that although between 1818 and 1824, adopting the recommendation of a committee of the House of Commons, capital punishments were abolished for twenty-one offences, but little effect was shown in the numbers of persons sentenced to death and executed, "the remission not having reached any of the larger classes of offences, and some of the offences having indeed become obsolete. In 1832 capital punishment was abolished for cattle-stealing, horse-stealing, sheep-stealing, larceny to the value of 5*l.* in a dwelling-house, coining, and forgery (except of wills and powers of attorney to transfer stock)." Capital punishment was removed in 1833 from house-breaking—in 1834 from returning from transportation—in 1835 from sacrilege, and letter-stealing by servants of the Post-office—and in the first year of the present reign (1837) capital punishments were abolished in respect of all offences, with the exception of murder and attempts to murder when accompanied with injuries dangerous to life.

Rape, and carnally abusing girls under ten years of age ;
Unnatural offences ;
Burglary, when attended with violence to persons ;
Robbery, when attended with cutting and wounding ;
Arson, of dwelling-houses or ships, when the lives of persons therein are endangered ;
Piracy, when murder is committed ;
Showing false signals to cause shipwreck ;
Setting fire to Her Majesty's ships of war ;
Riot, and feloniously destroying buildings ;
Embezzlement by servants of the Bank of England ;
High treason.

The last six named offences are of very rare occurrence.

A further relaxation of the law took effect in 1841, when capital punishment was abolished for the crimes of rape, felonious riots, and embezzlement by servants of the Bank of England.

Mr. Redgrave gives in the following statement a strong proof of one of the evils already noticed, as attending upon the undue severity of our criminal code in former years.

"The Acts of the 1 Victoria have had a very beneficial effect upon the result of prosecutions, juries being in all cases less unwilling to convict when they know that capital punishment will not follow. By these Acts capital punishments were abolished in the crimes enumerated below, for which, at that time, executions were not unusual ; and the greater proportion of convictions in those crimes which has resulted from the alteration in the law is very remarkable. In the following calculation, a comparison is made of the centesimal pro-

portion of convictions to accusations, in respect to those offences, in the three years preceding the abolition of the capital punishment, and in the three years ending with 1841."

	Average of 1835-6-7	1839	1840	1841
Attempts to murder	40.75	50.71	56.15	63.22
Sacrilege . . .	73.68	77.77	69.75	66.66
Burglary . . .	69.69	73.56	78.98	79.84
Robbery . . .	56.08	62.98	64.71	63.80
Arson . . .	16.56	29.73	27.00	45.45

It is still more satisfactory to be able to state, on the same excellent authority, "that in the majority of the offences for which capital punishments were repealed there has been a decrease, and that in the aggregate this decrease amounted in 1841 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while commitments generally had increased."

The effect of the successive changes made of late years in our criminal code is forcibly stated by Mr. Redgrave as follows:—

"The magnitude of the recent changes in the criminal law will be strongly exemplified when it is stated that, had the offences tried in 1841 been tried under the laws of 1831, the eighty capital sentences passed would have been increased to 2,172."

The increasing proportion of convictions which has already been noticed as a consequence of this relaxation of the code has been steadily progressive throughout. Examining the returns in this particular at short intervals, we find the following result.

1805	Convictions per cent.	60.43
1810	"	61.35
1815	"	62.46
1820	"	67.23
1825	"	69.01

1830	Convictions per cent.	70·72
1835	„	71·04
1841	„	73·05

The following historical sketch of the efforts made in parliament for mitigating the severity of our criminal code has been drawn up and kindly communicated by the valuable public officer whose name has already been mentioned—Mr. Redgrave, keeper of the Criminal Register in the Home-office. We may learn from this narrative how rapid is the march of public opinion in the right direction, when once the shackles of prejudice have been cast aside, and the evidence of facts has been allowed to produce itself in confirmation of the views of enlightened reformers. We here see, among the opponents of all change in a system of criminal legislation, now looked back upon with horror or disgust by every one, the highest authorities of the day,—the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice of England. If anything could justify successive Parliaments in resisting the appeals for mercy and for enlightened justice made by Romilly and Mackintosh—names to be ever honoured for their devotion to the cause of humanity—it would be the resistance offered to those appeals by Lords Eldon and Ellenborough, armed as they were with all the weight of a lengthened experience. Yet has our own subsequent experience in the system they opposed proved that these—the “practical men,” *par excellence*—were decidedly wrong; while the “theorists,” whose schemes they so unhesitatingly denounced, were still more decidedly right, since every one of their predictions of the good to follow from the adoption of the measures they advocated has been fulfilled or rather surpassed.

“In 1750, a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the laws relating to felonies

“reported that it was reasonable to exchange the punishment of death for some other reasonable punishment;” and a Bill founded on this resolution passed the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords.

“The subject then slept for more than half a century, until in 1808 Sir Samuel Romilly brought forward his first motion for the Reform of the Criminal Laws; and a Bill which he introduced for Abolishing the Capital Punishment for *stealing privately from the person to the value of 5s.* (picking pockets) passed into a law during the same session.

“In 1810 Sir S. Romilly obtained leave to bring in three Bills for the Abolition of Capital Punishments:—

1st. For Stealing to the Value of 5s. in Shops, Warehouses, Coach-houses, &c.

2nd. For Stealing to the Value of 40s. in a Dwelling-house.

3rd. For Stealing to the Value of 40s. on Navigable Rivers, &c

“The first Bill passed the House of Commons, but made no further progress; the second was opposed by the Government, and lost by a majority of two in a thin house; the third Bill was dropped for the session.

“In the following year Sir S. Romilly again introduced the above Bills, together with a Bill Abolishing Capital Punishment for Stealing from Bleaching-grounds, and was enabled, in opposition to the ministry of the day, to carry his four Bills through the House of Commons. The Bills were introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Holland, supported by Lord Lansdowne, and, with the exception of the Bill relating to Bleaching-grounds (which was passed into a law), were strongly opposed by the Lord Chancellor, and by Lords Liverpool and Ellenborough, and were lost on a division. Lord Ellen-

borough, on this occasion, said, 'These Bills went to alter laws which a century had proved necessary, and which were now to be overturned by speculation and modern philosophy;' and again, 'He trusted that laws, which a century had proved to be beneficial, would not be changed for the illusory opinions of speculatists.' *Hansard*, vol. 20.

"In 1812 Sir S. Romilly introduced a Bill which passed into a law, repealing an Act of Elizabeth which constituted it a capital offence in soldiers and sailors found begging in the streets.

"In 1813, on the assembling of the new parliament, Sir S. Romilly again introduced his Bill Abolishing Capital Punishment for Shop-lifting. He had selected this Bill as having, in former discussions, been considered less objectionable than the others. Mr. Secretary Ryder and the Solicitor-General expressed their disapproval of the Bill on its introduction, and ministers opposed it on the third reading as introducing an innovating spirit into the criminal legislation. It was, however, carried in the face of this opposition by a majority of 38 in a house of 106 members, but thrown out in the House of Lords.

"In 1816 Sir S. Romilly carried this Bill once more through the House of Commons, but its further progress was again stopped in the House of Lords. In introducing his Bill, Sir S. Romilly brought forward the fact, that in the year 1785, no less than ninety-seven persons were executed for the offence of shop-lifting in London alone.

"In 1818 Sir S. Romilly again carried this Bill—the identical Bill which had already twice passed the House of Commons in that parliament, and twice in its predecessor, the only opposition offered being an amend-

ment proposed by the Attorney-General, on the third reading, to the declaration in the preamble, 'that extreme severity was calculated to produce impunity for crimes.' In defeating this amendment, and affirming the principle for which he contended, Sir S. Romilly's exertions for the amelioration of the criminal laws of his country terminated. He died at the close of the year; and though he had not been enabled, during a struggle of ten years with the ministry of that day, which opposed all his propositions, to carry many of the measures he so zealously advocated, he had impressed the House of Commons with their justice, and at least put a stop to the sanguinary enactments which were, up to that time, constantly being added to the Statute Book, at the same time that he aroused the attention of the public by his eloquent appeals to the state of the laws.

"In 1819 the criminal laws and their administration were the subject of frequent discussions.

"The number of convictions and executions, particularly for the forging and uttering of bank notes, was urged as a ground for inquiry, and petitions from most of the large towns and many influential bodies were presented to parliament praying that serious consideration might be given to the subject. Lord Holland presented a petition to this effect from the Corporation of London in the Upper House, and earnestly supported it; and the sheriffs presented a similar petition at the bar of the House of Commons. Mr. Wilberforce presented a petition from the Society of Friends, stating that at their annual meeting the subject had arrested their attention, and expressing the feelings of deep commiseration and regret.

"The public feeling was made sufficiently apparent in other ways. Juries seemed determined to resist by their

verdicts the severe enactments of the laws, and injured parties were deterred from appearing as prosecutors. Sir James Mackintosh now appeared as the active advocate of the reforms which had been so much advanced by the exertions of his friend, and moved (in March, 1819) the appointment of a select committee 'to consider so much of the criminal law as related to capital punishments, and to report their observations and opinion to the House.'* The motion was opposed by Lord Castlereagh, supported by his party—but, after a lengthened debate, was carried by a majority of 19 in a house of 275 members. This defeat of the minister was welcomed with 'great cheering.' The committee was appointed, and made their report at the end of the session. In the next year, Sir James moved the re-appointment of the committee, and brought in six Bills for the Amendment of the Criminal Laws, founded on their report presented in the previous session. These Bills proposed to Abolish Capital Punishments—

1st. For Stealing to the Value of 40s. in Dwelling-houses.

2nd. For Stealing to the Value of 5s. privately in a Shop.

3rd. For Stealing privately on a River to the Value of 40s.

4th. For several offences of the nature of Misdemeanors, many of them obsolete.

5th. Repealed parts of Acts creating capital offences, among which were—Abduction of Women of Property—Maliciously Wounding Cattle—Taking a Reward for the recovery of Stolen Goods—Destroying Trees—Breaking

* Sir J. Mackintosh stated that a similar resolution was passed in 1770, when authority was delegated to a commission for the same purpose.

down the Banks of Rivers; and several offences connected with the Marriage and Bankrupt Laws

6th. Consolidated and amended the laws relating to *Forgery*, and repealed the capital punishment for all first offences of Forging and Uttering—except of Bank of England Notes.

“ The Bills relating to stealing in a dwelling-house, stealing on navigable rivers, and forging, were opposed by the government of the day, and abandoned by Sir James in the face of their opposition. The other three Bills were suffered to pass into laws—the Lords having altered the Shop-lifting Bill, leaving it capital to steal in shops to the value of 15*l*.

“ In 1821 Sir James Mackintosh succeeded in carrying the second and third reading of his Forgery Bill in opposition to the strenuous exertions of the ministry. On the question that the Bill do pass, some of its supporters having left the house, Lord Londonderry tried another division—and by this parliamentary stratagem, which was warmly exclaimed against, succeeded in defeating the Bill—the numbers being 121 to 115.

“ In 1822, in consequence of ill health, Sir James Mackintosh confined his exertions to the obtaining a pledge from the House to consider means, in the following session, for abating the rigour of the criminal law. This resolution, though strongly opposed by the Government, he carried by 117 to 101.

“ In 1823, in pursuance of the resolution which, in spite of the government, he had extorted from the House, Sir J. Mackintosh proposed, in a series of resolutions, that it was expedient to abolish the punishment of death in cases of larceny from shops, from dwelling-houses, and on navigable rivers—for horse, sheep, and cattle stealing—for forgery—returning from transport-

ation, and other offences made capital by particular statutes. These resolutions were opposed by Sir Robert Peel, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, who moved the previous question, and promised that the subject should be taken up by the government. Sir Robert Peel's motion was carried, and Sir J. Mackintosh stated that 'he should not take upon himself to introduce any other measures for amending the criminal laws, because he must foreknow their fate.' In conformity with his promise, Sir Robert Peel afterwards brought in three Bills for Abolishing Capital Punishments, which were passed, an ineffectual attempt being made by Sir J. Mackintosh to extend their provisions. These bills abolished capital punishments in fifteen distinct offences—but the offences were either obsolete, or of so unfrequent occurrence, that they did not tend much to ameliorate the severity of the criminal code. This will be at once obvious from the fact, that in the two years preceding the passing of these Bills the Criminal Records show that only four convictions took place under their enactments, and that step by step with them Sir Robert Peel carried a Bill to enable Judges to record instead of passing the Sentence of Death, in order to avoid the farce of solemnly passing a sentence which no one who heard it imagined could be executed.

“ In the three years preceding the passing of these bills, the capital convictions were 3070; the executions, 153.

“ In the three following years, the capital convictions were 4076; the executions, 223.

“ The executions from 1820 to 1829 inclusive were 729.

“ The executions in ten years, from 1832 to 1841 inclusive, were 216.

" In the last five years, the executions have been —

1837	8
1838	6
1839	11
1840	9
1841	10
	<hr/>
	44

" In 1826, 1827, and 1828, Sir Robert Peel carried several very important Bills for the consolidation and amendment of the criminal laws, but these Bills did not abolish capital punishments. Sir R. Peel, indeed, made it a matter of boast that he did not constitute any new capital felonies, and pointed out an instance in which he had abated the capital punishment by increasing the sum constituting it a capital offence to steal in a dwelling-house, from 40s to 5*l.*, and by widening the technical description of a dwelling.

" In 1830 Sir Robert Peel brought in his Forgery Bill, and petitions were poured into the House from all quarters against the re-enactment of the severe penalties for this offence. Sir James Mackintosh again took up the subject, and moved that the capital punishments be struck out from the Bill. He was unsuccessful; but in the last stage of the measure Mr. Spring Rice was enabled to defeat the ministry by a majority of 151 to 138, and to remove the sentence of death from the Bill. It was, however, restored by the House of Lords, and the Bill, as altered, was suffered to pass the House of Commons at the end of the session *

" In 1832 two most important Bills for abolishing capital punishments were passed. Mr. Ewart, assisted

* Executions for forgery were not of uncommon occurrence up to this time—1830; for the three preceding years no less than fifteen persons were executed for this offence out of 123 capitally convicted.

by the government, was able to carry a Bill abolishing the punishment of death in cases of horse, sheep, and cattle stealing, and larceny in a dwelling-house.* He was opposed by Sir R. Peel, and an amendment was made in the Lords subjecting these offences to the fixed penalty of transportation for life—at the same time, ministers brought in a Bill for Abolishing Capital Punishment in cases of Forgery. This Bill was introduced into the Commons by the Attorney-General, and into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. It passed into a law, but an amendment was made in the House of Lords under the protest of the Lord Chancellor, excepting the forgery of wills and powers of attorney to transfer stock, which offences were left capital.

“ In 1833 Mr. Lennard carried his Bill for Abolishing Capital Punishment for Housebreaking, executions for which offence were continued down to 1830.

“ In 1834, Mr. Ewart carried a Bill for Abolishing Capital Punishment for returning from Transportation ; and in the following year for Sacrilege and Letter-stealing.

“ This was the state of the criminal law when Lord John Russell brought in his Bills for its mitigation, founded on the report of a committee which the government had appointed. The little progress which Sir S. Romilly and Sir J. Mackintosh had made in opposition to the governments of their day, will be seen

* Executions for these offences were common up to 1830. In the three years preceding there were executed for—

Horse stealing	. . . . .	22
Sheep stealing	. . . . .	9
Larceny in dwelling houses	. . . . .	6

In the following two years which intervened before the abolition of the capital punishment, two persons only were executed for these offences.

by the foregoing sketch—as well as the extensive and salutary changes which followed Lord J. Russell's Bills, effected an extensive abolition of the sentence of death and a mitigation of the secondary punishments. He was enabled to abolish capital punishments in all cases but—

Murder and attempts to murder, where dangerous
bodily injuries are effected;

Burglary and robbery, when attended with violence or wounds;

Arson of dwelling-houses, where life is endangered—
and six other offences of very rare occurrence.

"The number of capital convictions in 1829 was 1385; and in 1834, three years after the extensive abolition of capital punishments, the number was reduced to 480.

"Only four years have elapsed since the passing of these Acts, as to which we as yet know the result, and the Criminal Tables show their very important operation upon the criminal procedure. These Tables show the *capital* convictions under the existing laws to have been reduced, if we deduct the number of offences committed in 1838, before the passing of the Act of that year, to a number not exceeding that of the executions in a like period up to the end of 1829. The effect on the secondary punishments has been very great. The proportion sentenced to transportation for life was reduced from 1 in 20 to 1 in 86, and the effect of the change in the chief punishments has been visible down to the bottom of the scale."

Among the injurious results of the sanguinary code which was so long allowed to disgrace our statute book, may be mentioned the impressions made upon the minds of transgressors. It might have been supposed that at least one salutary effect would have attended upon severity,—that the terror which it was calculated to excite

would have had a wholesome influence in deterring from crime ; but it is well known that the very reverse of this effect was produced. Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, whose name will go down to posterity with that of Howard, and who has well qualified herself for being heard upon this question, was examined before the Committee on the police of the metropolis in 1818, and upon this point gave the following testimony.

“As an illustration of the effects produced among the prisoners themselves by capital punishments, I wish to read a note which was taken in the prison of Newgate soon after the execution of a woman named Elizabeth Fricker, who was executed for admitting a man to rob her mistress. ‘I visited Newgate two days after the execution of Elizabeth Fricker, and instead of finding, as I expected, the whole of the criminals awfully affected by what had passed, I found a spirit of pity and lamentation over the sufferers, with such an impression that the punishment exceeded the crime, that it excited a feeling of great displeasure and even bitterness, not only towards our laws but to those who put them into execution, and so far from softening the heart, or leading it from evil, it appeared to harden them, and make them endeavour to justify their own criminal conduct as well as that of those who suffered, and even to fortify themselves through unbelief of the truths of religion, or to justify themselves and those who suffered, by feeling that they were not what they considered justly done by.’ ”

Up to 1834 there was not any classification of offences made in our criminal returns, the whole being arranged alphabetically. But on and after that year crimes have been ranged under six principal heads, viz. :—

1. Offences against the person ;
2. Offences against property, committed with violence ;

3. Offences against property, committed without violence ;
4. Malicious offences against property ;
5. Forgery and offences against the currency ;
6. Other offences, not included in the above classes.

Following this classification, we find that the offences charged in each year from 1834 to 1841 under the various heads have been,—

	Class 1.	Class 2.	Class 3.	Class 4.	Class 5.	Class 6.	Total
1834	2,455	1,459	16,608	162	431	1,336	22,451
1835	2,016	1,351	15,478	156	368	1,359	20,731
1836	1,956	1,310	16,167	168	359	1,024	20,984
1837	1,719	1,400	18,884	114	456	1,039	23,612
1838	1,859	1,538	18,278	89	503	827	23,094
1839	2,009	1,432	19,243	103	436	1,218	24,443
1840	1,881	1,934	21,484	145	541	1,202	27,187
1841	2,140	1,873	22,017	94	437	1,199	27,760

The increase is here seen to apply chiefly to offences against property committed without violence, and which bore to the whole number of committals in each of the years the following proportions : —

1834	73·97 per cent.	1838	79·14 per cent.
1835	74·66 "	1839	78·72 "
1836	77·04 "	1840	79·02 "
1837	79·97 "	1841	79·31 "

The numbers of offenders in the remaining five classes have not increased, although the population has increased between 1834 and 1841 to the amount of more than 10 per cent. It is clear, therefore, that the relaxations of our criminal laws are in no respect chargeable with the increasing number of delinquencies which have occurred in a class of crimes in regard to which little or nothing has been done in that direction. The

number of executions that have taken place in England and Wales between 1805 and 1841 is seen by the foregoing Table to have been 2190, or, on an average, 59 yearly, of which number 484, or 13 per annum, had been guilty of murder; so that, according to the convictions under which the legislature has of late years been brought to act, the fearful number of 1706 lives have in that period been unnecessarily and therefore wrongfully taken in England and Wales alone.

In the following Table the number of committals in 1841 is contrasted with those in 1805 for each county in England, and calculations are added whereby it may be seen how greatly the increase of committals has outstripped the increase of population. It will be found, that in the period of thirty-six years the rate of increase in criminality, thus measured, has run from 250 per cent. in Rutlandshire to 1720 per cent. in Monmouthshire. In the former county, the increase of population between 1801 and 1841 was the smallest experienced in England, excepting Sussex and Herefordshire; while in Monmouthshire the increase of population has been the largest, with the exception of Lancashire. The counties are arranged in the order of their rank as regards agricultural employment in 1831; and it will be found that, in the twenty counties where the largest proportion of the inhabitants belonged to the agricultural class, the increase of crime has been as great within a very minute fraction as it has been in the remaining twenty counties,—the increase of committals having been, in the more agricultural counties, 498 per cent., and in the more manufacturing counties 499 per cent.; while the increase of population between 1801 and 1841 in the more agricultural counties has been 55 per cent., and in the remaining counties 92 per cent. We find nothing in this examination to support

the assertion, so often hazarded, that vice and crime are fostered by bringing men together in large masses, while innocence is preserved by rural pursuits. For each million of inhabitants, there were charged with offences—

	1805	1841	Difference.
In the 20 more agricultural counties	446	1,723	1,277
In the 20 less agricultural counties	590	1,842	1,252

The refutation of the popular belief thus established will appear more decided if we consider that, as already shown, the great increase of crime generally has been in that class of offences the temptations to commit which are out of all proportion greatest in the more populous districts. [See Table, p. 198.]

If the comparison had been made between 1805 and 1840, it would have been found that the proportionate number of accusations to population in the two classes of counties were still nearer than in 1841.

The result would then have been as follows:—For each million of inhabitants, there were charged with offences—

	1805	1840	Difference.
In the 20 more agricultural counties	446	1,753	1,307
In the 20 less agricultural counties	590	1,836	1,246

The less favourable result in the manufacturing counties in 1841 was probably the effect of commercial distress, which most painfully abridged the demand for labour, and of the high prices of provisions to which that distress has been attributed.

During the seven years from 1835 to 1841, for which alone the returns afford means of comparison, there has been a most remarkable uniformity in the proportionate number of persons at different ages committed for trial.

Numerical Order of Counties in respect to Agricul- tural Em- ployment.	Counties.	Committals in		Increase per Cent. of	
		1805.	1841.	Committals between 1805 and 1841.	Population between 1801 and 1841.
1	Bedford . . .	20	191	855	70
2	Huntingdonshire	15	62	313	50
3	Rutlandshire .	4	14	250	30
4	Herefordshire .	31	245	690	28
5	Lincolnshire .	58	349	502	73
6	Cambridgeshire	40	240	500	84
7	Buckinghamshire	33	287	769	45
8	Essex . . .	144	647	349	56
9	Suffolk . . .	109	482	342	49
10	Wiltshire . . .	75	506	575	40
11	Oxfordshire . .	38	323	750	47
12	Northamptonshire	42	342	714	51
13	Hertfordshire .	43	319	642	61
14	Berkshire . . .	62	306	393	46
15	Norfolk . . .	163	666	509	50
16	Dorsetshire . .	38	284	647	51
17	Sussex . . .	105	539	413	25
18	Westmoreland .	6	33	450	35
19	Salop . . .	79	416	426	42
20	Somersetshire .	106	991	835	59
21	Hampshire . . .	147	677	360	57
22	Devonshire . .	96	687	615	55
23	Kent . . .	210	962	358	78
24	Worcestershire .	51	566	1,009	67
25	Cornwall . . .	45	295	555	80
26	Cumberland . .	18	151	739	53
27	Leicestershire .	47	466	891	65
28	Nottinghamshire	74	329	344	75
29	Monmouthshire .	20	364	1,720	128
30	Derbyshire . . .	39	277	610	67
31	Gloucestershire .	141	1,236	776	71
32	Cheshire . . .	80	943	1,078	106
33	Yorkshire . . .	245	1,895	673	85
34	Warwickshire .	160	1,046	553	93
35	Staffordshire . .	91	1,059	1,063	113
36	Northumberland	38	226	494	59
37	Durham . . .	27	215	696	102
38	Surrey . . .	199	923	363	106
39	Lancashire . . .	371	3,987	974	147
40	Middlesex . . .	1,217	3,586	194	94
		4,605	27,132	482	79

The centesimal proportions at various periods of life in each of those years were :—

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841
Aged 12 years and under	1·67	1·84	1·52	1·58	1·74	1·79	1·79
Above 12, not exceeding 16	9·70	9·71	9·72	9·92	10·08	9·80	9·78
„ 16 „ 21	21	29·65	29·03	29·23	29·13	28·07	28·10
„ 21 „ 30	30	31·92	31·42	31·74	31·24	31·12	30·99
„ 30 „ 40	40	14·01	14·43	14·55	14·75	14·94	15·32
„ 40 „ 50	50	6·60	6·76	6·65	7·02	6·97	7·21
„ 50 „ Above 60 years	60	3·24	3·33	3·24	3·00	3·23	3·12
Ages unknown	1·30	1·40	1·55	1·58	1·55	1·57	1·51
	1·91	2·08	1·79	1·78	2·30	2·10	2·02
	100·	100·	100·	100·	100·	100·	100·

The most disquieting feature of these details is the large amount of criminality found in persons of tender years, and who may be considered victims of the evil influences to which they have been exposed. The actual numbers of children under sixteen years old who were committed for trial in the above years, distinguishing boys from girls, were—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
1835	2,002	354	2,356
1836	2,057	366	2,423
1837	2,265	389	2,654
1838	2,250	407	2,657
1839	2,425	463	2,888
1840	2,586	557	3,143
1841	2,656	556	3,212

The constant and rapid additions thus apparent in the ranks of juvenile offenders is calculated to awaken the deepest and most anxious interest. It has at length compelled the government to the adoption of active measures for the repression of the evil—an evil which never should, nay, never could, have arisen but for the neglect of the legislature to furnish means for imparting to all that degree of moral training which it is the duty

of the state to provide with regard to the well-ordering of the community. Our prisons are no longer to be schools wherein the child who may have been led into some petty delinquency is made to perfect his education in crime, and whence he is to be sent back into the world an accomplished villain. The establishment of the Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, is one very important step towards the repression of crime by checking its manifestation at the source, by withdrawing the young victims of society from the evil influences that have been suffered to surround them from their birth, replacing those influences by motives to virtuous conduct, and supplying the means for its pursuit.

If we could ever have doubted the great influence of instruction in restraining men from the commission of crimes, the proof of its efficacy would have been afforded by our criminal statistics.

In 1835 returns were first obtained of the degree of instruction that had been imparted to persons committed for trial; but as the inquiries only went to determine whether the parties could read and write, or read only, or were without even that elementary degree of learning, and did not distinguish such as had been superiorly instructed, but little advantage could be drawn from them. In the following year this deficiency was supplied, and we have since been made acquainted with the degrees of instruction of persons charged with offences, under the four following heads:—

1. Persons who can neither read nor write ;
2. Persons who can read only, or read and write imperfectly ;
3. Persons who can read and write well ;
4. Persons who have received instruction beyond the elementary branches of reading and writing.

The returns under those heads in each year in England and Wales, from 1836 to 1841, have been as follows:—

	Neither Read nor Write.		Read only, or Read and Write imperfectly.		Read and Write well.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1836	5,598	1,435	8,968	3,015	2,016	199
1837	6,684	1,780	10,147	2,151	2,057	177
1838	6,342	1,601	10,008	2,326	2,051	206
1839	6,487	1,709	10,523	2,548	2,201	■
1840	7,145	1,913	12,151	2,958	2,038	216
1841	7,312	1,908	12,742	2,990	1,839	214

	Superior Instruction.		Instruction not ascertained.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1836	176	15	490	72
1837	98	3	421	94
1838	74	5	■	51
1839	74	■	548	90
1840	100	■	541	125
1841	126	..	541	88

The most cursory glance at these figures must carry conviction to every mind that instruction has power to restrain men from the commission of crimes—of such a nature at least as will bring them before the bar of justice. If we class together those who can neither read nor write, and those who have acquired only an imperfect acquaintance with those elementary branches of knowledge—the scaffolding merely for the erection of the moral edifice—we find that in the six years comprised in the returns there were, out of 143,591 persons committed, and whose degrees of instruction were ascertained, the great proportion of 129,441, or more than 90

in 100 uninstructed persons, while only 676 persons had enjoyed the advantages of instruction beyond the elementary degree, and only 13,474 had mastered, without advancing beyond, the arts of reading and writing.

These numbers embrace both males and females. If we examine the returns with the view of determining the moral influence of instruction upon females, we find that among the 143,591 persons above described there were 26,634 females, or 18·54 per cent. of the whole; but when we inquire in what proportions females are divided among the different classes as respects instruction, we see that among the 129,441 uninstructed persons there were 25,334 females, or 19·57 per cent.; while among 13,474 who could read and write well there were but 1,272 females, or 9·44 per cent.; and among the better instructed, 676 persons, there were only twenty-eight females, or 4·14 per cent. The proportions in each 10,000 persons accused that were furnished by the males and females of these several classes were as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Those wholly uninstructed, and those who could read only, or read and write imperfectly	7,250	1,764	9,014
Those who could read and write well	850	89	939
Those superiorly instructed . . .	45	2	47
	<hr/> 8,145	<hr/> 1,855	<hr/> 10,000

Of the twenty-eight instructed females accused of crimes throughout England and Wales in six years, the large proportion of fifteen belong to the first year of the series. Of these, twelve were accused of simple larceny, one for receiving stolen goods, one for fraud, and one for perjury. There were, consequently, in five years, only thirteen educated females brought to the bar of criminal justice, viz.,—three in 1837; five in 1838; four in 1839; only one in 1840; and in 1841 not one educated

female was committed for trial among 7,673,633 females then living in that part of the United Kingdom.

How much the internal peace of the country may be affected by the prevalence of ignorance, or the spread of knowledge, may be reasonably inferred from the state of instruction of persons tried at the Special Commission in October, 1842, arising out of the then recent rising in the manufacturing districts. This is shown by the following Table:—

	Cheshire.	Lancashire.	Staffordshire.	Total.	Centesimal proportion.
Neither read nor write	26	47	81	154	27·16
Read only . . .	30	26	99	155	27·34
Read and write imperfectly . . .	28	97	59	184	32·45
Read and write well	9	28	36	73	12·87
Superior instruction . .	..	..	1	1	0·18
	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 198	<hr/> 276	<hr/> 567	<hr/> 100·00

The influence of instruction in preserving from legal offences would not be fully understood by a simple statement of the number of instructed persons accused of crimes. It would occupy too much space to go into a minute examination of the cases of accused persons in this class for each of the years in which the intellectual condition of the accused has been distinguished, but the subject is of too great importance to the moral health of the nation to allow of its being passed over without some attempt to point out the various consequences that have been seen to follow from even the imperfect degree of training which has hitherto been deemed sufficient for forming the minds and characters of Englishmen. For this purpose the following analysis of the criminal returns of England and Wales in 1840 and 1841, so far as they relate to well-instructed criminals, is offered.

In 1840 there were, as already stated, 100 males and

one female, who had received instruction beyond reading and writing, committed for trial in the various counties of England and Wales. Of this number only fifty-nine (fifty-eight males and one female) were convicted, being under 59 per cent. of the number accused, while the convictions generally in that year exceeded 73 per cent. of the accused.

The convictions occurred in the following counties :—

			Inhabitants.			Inhabitants.
Cambridge	1	{ out of a po- pulation of }	164,509,	or 1 conviction for	164,509	
Cheshire	6	„	395,300	„ 1	„	65,883
Cornwall	1	„	341,269	„ 1	„	341,269
Durham	2	„	324,277	„ 1	„	162,138
Essex	1	„	344,995	„ 1	„	344,955
Huntingdon	1	„	58,699	„ 1	„	58,699
Kent	3	„	548,161	„ 1	„	182,720
Lancaster	15	„	1,667,064	„ 1	„	111,137
Monmouth	1	„	134,349	„ 1	„	134,349
Northampton	1	„	199,061	„ 1	„	199,061
Nottingham	2	„	249,773	„ 1	„	124,886
Salop	1	„	230,014	„ 1	„	230,014
Somerset	3	„	436,002	„ 1	„	145,334
Stafford	4	„	510,206	„ 1	„	127,551
Surrey	3	„	582,613	„ 1	„	194,204
Warwick	5	„	402,121	„ 1	„	80,424
Wilts	2	„	260,007	„ 1	„	130,003
Worcester	1	„	233,484	„ 1	„	233,484
Yorkshire	5	„	1,591,584	„ 1	„	318,316
Anglesea	1	„	50,890	„ 1	„	50,890

In twenty counties of England and Wales, with a population of 8,724,338 persons, there were convicted fifty-nine instructed persons, or one to every 147,870 inhabitants ; while the remaining thirty-two counties, with a population of 7,182,491, did not furnish one convict who had received more than the rudest elements of instruction. It is even more worthy of remark, that

Middlesex, the metropolitan county, with its 1,576,616 inhabitants, among whom the proportion of instructed persons is at least equal to that in any other county, did not furnish one educated convict—a fact which, considering the diversity of conditions and occupations, and the amount of temptations that assail its inhabitants, it would be most difficult to believe upon any testimony less certain than that of official returns.

The smallness of the number of criminals included in the class of educated persons might lead to the belief that a high standard of intellectual acquirement is adopted as a qualification for admission into that class; but it has been found upon inquiry that the reverse of this belief is true, and that—owing probably to the deficient education of some among the officers of prisons who make the returns—some have been represented as superiorly instructed who should have been included within the third class, viz.—those who read and write well.

Among the fifty-nine instructed persons convicted in 1840 were fourteen political offences, and one other, whose offence, that of offering a bribe at an election for a member of Parliament, might come under the same description; one for manslaughter—a lad of nineteen, whose punishment was the payment of a fine of 100*l*. There were eight instructed persons convicted of forgery and offences against the currency out of 430 persons of all degrees of instruction who were convicted of those offences—a truly satisfactory result, affording a sufficient answer to the objection urged (it is true) less frequently now than formerly, that to extend instruction would be to multiply the crime of forgery; three were cases of larceny by *servants*, and fifteen were cases of simple larceny. The remaining seventeen were cases of embezzlement, fraud, assaults, and other not very heinous offences.

That the offences were altogether of not a very dark character will appear from a description of the punishments awarded, viz. :—

Transportation for life	3	
„ 20 years	1	
„ 15 „	1	
„ 14 „	3	
„ 10 „	3	
„ 7 „	5	
	—	16 transported.
Imprisonment for 3 years	1	
„ 2 „	3	
„ 18 months	3	
„ 15 „	1	
„ 12 „	5	
„ 9 „	4	
„ 6 „	7	
„ 4 „	1	
„ 3 „	9	
„ 6 weeks	1	
„ 1 month	1	
„ 14 days	1	
	—	37 imprisoned.
Fined £100	1	
„ 10	1	
„ 5	2	
„ 1	1	
	—	5 fined.
Discharged on sureties . .		1 discharged.
	—	59

Of the above there were—

Under 20 years old	5
Between 20 and 30 years . . .	24
Between 30 and 45 years . . .	23
Above 45 years	7
	—
	59

Lest it should be thought that the experience of one year is insufficient to warrant the conclusions which would

follow from the establishment of the facts just exhibited, recourse has been had to the criminal department of the Home Office, and through the kindness of Mr. Redgrave the following analysis of the convictions of instructed persons in 1841 has also been obtained.

It has been stated that 126 instructed persons were in that year accused in England and Wales. Of these, seventeen are included in the county of Somerset. An inquiry, made subsequent to the printing of the returns, has made it appear that these seventeen persons should have been classed among those who read and write well, not one among them having received any higher degree of instruction. The number is thus reduced to 109, of whom only 74, or 67·89 per cent., were convicted. These convictions occurred in the following counties:—

		Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
Cheshire . . .	1	{in a popu- lation of }	395,300, or 1 conviction for	395,300
Essex . . .	1	„	344,995 „ 1	„ 344,995
Gloucester . .	1	„	431,307 „ 1	„ 431,307
Kent . . .	8	„	548,161 „ 1	„ 68,520
Lancaster . .	19	„	1,667,064 „ 1	„ 87,740
Lincolnshire .	1	„	362,717 „ 1	„ 362,717
Middlesex . .	18	„	1,576,616 „ 1	„ 87,590
Norfolk . . .	1	„	412,621 „ 1	„ 412,621
Northumberland	2	„	250,268 „ 1	„ 125,134
Staffordshire .	6	„	510,206 „ 1	„ 85,034
Surrey . . .	2	„	582,613 „ 1	„ 291,306
Wiltshire . .	2	„	260,007 „ 1	„ 130,003
Warwickshire	8	„	402,121 „ 1	„ 50,265
Worcestershire	1	„	233,484 „ 1	„ 233,484
Yorkshire . .	3	„	1,591,584 „ 1	„ 530,528

In fifteen English counties, with a population of 9,569,064, there were convicted seventy-four instructed persons, or one to every 129,311 inhabitants; while the twenty-five remaining counties of England and the whole of Wales, with a population of 6,342,661, did not among

them furnish one conviction of a person who had received more than the mere elements of instruction. It will be remembered as a most interesting fact, one which speaks irresistibly in favour of a general system of education, that not one of the 109 was a female !

The offences of which the seventy-four were convicted were as follows :—

Manslaughter	3
Wounding with intent to main ; shooting at, &c.	3
Rape	1
Assault with intent to ravish	1
Common assaults	4
Housebreaking	2
Horse stealing	2
Larceny by servants	8
Larceny	21
Embezzlement	5
Stealing letters from post-office	4
Frauds	7
Forgery	8
Uttering counterfeit coin	1
Forcible entry	1
Perjury	1
Neglect of duty in a police officer	1
Delaying the delivery of a letter	1
	<hr/>
	74

The sentences pronounced were as follows :—

Sentenced to death (for rape ; sentence com- muted to 1 year's imprisonment)	1
Transportation for life	5
„ 15 years	3
„ 14 „	1
„ 12 „	1
„ 10 „	6
„ 7 „	7

Imprisonment—2 years	. . . . .	5
„ 18 months.	. . . . .	1
„ 15 „	. . . . .	1
„ 12 „	. . . . .	12
„ 6 „	. . . . .	10
„ 4 „	. . . . .	2
„ 3 „	. . . . .	8
„ 2 „	. . . . .	1
„ 1 „	. . . . .	4
„ 1 day	. . . . .	1
		— 45
Fined (1—40 shillings; 1—1 shilling).	. . . . .	2
Discharged on sureties	. . . . .	2
Pardoned . . . . .	. . . . .	1
		—
		74

Their ages were :—

Under 20 years	. . . . .	9
Between 20 and 30 years		26
Between 30 and 45 years		31
Above 45 years	. . . . .	8
		—
		74

In the following table the committals in England and Wales, in each year from 1836 to 1839, are divided so as to show the number of males and females charged in each of the six classes of crimes already described as used in the returns made by the Home Office, distributing them according to the absence of instruction, or the degree in which it had been imparted. Those persons whose intellectual condition was not ascertained are not included in the table. In consequence of a change made in the arrangement of the returns presented to Parliament, the same information cannot be given for any year later than 1839.

	Neither Read nor Write.		Read or Write Imperfectly.		Read and Write well.		Superior Instruction	
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1836.								
Offences against persons	419	61	844	101	302	20	48	..
Offences against property, with violence . . .	380	29	686	40	150	2	8	..
Offences against property, without violence . .	4,460	1,257	6,789	1,767	1,336	164	92	14
Malicious offences against property	47	6	76	6	23	..	2	..
Forgery and offences against currency . .	65	38	162	30	47	5	11	..
Other offences . . .	227	44	411	71	108	8	15	1
	5,598	1,435	8,968	2,015	2,016	199	176	25
1837.								
Offences against persons	422	59	844	95	252	6	20	1
Offences against property, with violence . . .	472	33	732	35	117	3	2	..
Offences against property, without violence . .	5,420	1,556	8,076	1,897	1,506	146	59	2
Malicious offences against property	34	4	45	8	12	..	2	..
Forgery and offences against currency . .	94	67	185	48	51	4	7	..
Other offences . . .	242	61	400	68	119	18	9	..
	6,684	1,780	10,147	2,151	2,057	177	98	3
1838.								
Offences against persons	454	59	776	97	276	16	23	3
Offences against property, with violence . . .	510	41	809	33	129	6	1	..
Offences against property, without violence . .	5,102	1,420	7,882	2,040	1,469	159	34	4
Malicious offences against property	23	2	47	8	7	..	1	..
Forgery and offences against currency . .	87	44	205	56	87	5	6	..
Other offences . . .	166	35	289	82	63	20	9	..
	6,342	1,601	10,008	2,326	2,051	206	74	5
1839.								
Offences against persons	438	50	909	108	283	24	21	..
Offences against property, with violence . . .	455	41	767	41	112	2	1	..
Offences against property, without violence . .	5,206	1,536	8,105	2,298	1,594	211	30	4
Malicious offences against property	40	2	35	8	18	..	..	..
Forgery and offences against currency . .	80	47	170	50	71	10	6	..
Other offences . . .	268	43	537	43	123	14	16	..
	6,487	1,709	10,523	2,548	2,201	251	74	4

The feeling in favour of imparting instruction to the population generally has been rapidly spreading during the last few years, and it is not likely that we shall again see resistance offered in Parliament to a very moderate vote of money for that purpose, as was the case in 1839, when the grant of 30,000*l.*, brought forward and supported by all the power of the Government, was carried by only a bare majority. The convictions of all parties appear now to be engaged in favour of the opinion, then first practically enforced, that it is the duty of the State to provide, or at least to aid in providing, means for rescuing the multitude from the debasement inseparable from ignorance.

The French Government preceded us in making a classification of offenders according to their degrees of instruction, a course which has forcibly drawn attention to a subject for the elucidation of which no means previously existed. It seems deserving of remark, that an argument was at one time found by persons unfriendly to the spread of instruction, in the comparative state of crime in the most instructed and least instructed departments of France. It has been shown by M. Guerry*, that in the departments where the greatest amount of instruction had been imparted, there the greatest amount of crime was found to exist, and thence the conclusion was hastily formed that instruction is unfavourable to innocence. An examination of the facts adduced by M. Guerry, aided by a little reflection, would have shown how false was such a conclusion. That examination would have established the fact, that although there was a greater proportion of offences in the more enlightened departments, the criminals were found among the uninstructed, and reflection would soon have shown

* *Essai sur la Statistique Morale de la France.*

why this must be so. In an instructed community, those who had not partaken of the advantage of education would be placed in circumstances unfavourable to the pursuit of honest callings, since the instructed would command a preference from all who had employments to bestow; and besides, where ignorance abounds, the standard of morals must be low, and offences which could not be tolerated in a more enlightened community might pass unnoticed.

The criminal jurisprudence of Scotland is, in some respects, on a better footing than that of England. The existence of a public prosecutor relieves individuals against whom trespasses have been committed from the expense of time and the inconvenience otherwise of coming forward to accuse, and thus renders punishment more certain. It is, besides, the duty of the officers of justice to inquire into the circumstances attending every crime that is known to have been committed, without waiting, as in England, until some person shall have been accused and apprehended on account of the same. By the practice in Scotland it will sometimes happen that the inquiry thus made serves to point out the culprit, who, for want of such a preliminary investigation, would have remained undiscovered. It is, of course, impossible to determine in what degree this greater chance of detection and punishment deters from the commission of offences, but that it must have some good effect few will be disposed to doubt.

It is surprising that a system so superior in these respects to that of England should have been unaccompanied by any plan for the systematic registration of offences. The performance of this important duty seems to have been left very much to the discretion of local officers, and, as might be expected, it was very imper-

fectly done by some, and not even attempted by others, until the passing of the Act 1 William IV., c. 37, which empowered the Secretary of State for the Home Department to require from the Lord Advocate of Scotland the preparation for Parliament of criminal returns for each year, according to a form specified in the statute, and which the Secretary of State had power to vary at his pleasure. The form prescribed by the Act was used up to 1835 inclusive, with the exception of 1831, the returns for which year have, by some accident, not appeared; but in 1836, and each subsequent year, the criminal returns for Scotland have been assimilated in form to those which relate to England and Wales.

The number of persons committed, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed, in Scotland, in the following years, between 1830 and 1835, were—

	Committed.		Convicted.		Sentenced to Death.		Executed.	
	Males & Females.		Males & Females.		Males & Females.		Males & Females.	
1830	2,063		1274		8		8	
	Committed.		Convicted.		Sentenced to Death.		Executed.	
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1832	1,898	533	1,194	363	5	1	2	..
1833	2,033	531	1,418	378	9	1	3	..
1834	2,125	566	1,403	397	5	1	4	..
1835	2,225	612	1,473	427	5	1	4	1

The number of committals in Scotland since 1835 have been—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
1836	2,223	699	2,922
1837	2,391	735	3,126
1838	2,609	800	3,418
1839	2,490	919	3,409
1840	2,866	1,006	3,872
1841	2,533	1,029	3,562

Distinguishing the accused according to the classes of crimes, and the circumstances of instruction, so far as these were ascertained, the numbers were in each year as follows :—

SCOTLAND.	Neither Read nor Write.		Read or Write imperfectly.		Read and Write well.		Superior Instruction.	
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1836.								
Offences against persons	82	16	377	50	781	1	20	..
Offences against property, with violence . . .	64	14	132	16	48	6	7	..
Offences against property, without violence . . .	195	126	448	251	142	38	19	1
Malicious offences against property	9	1	13	1	6	..	..	..
Forgery, and offences against currency . . .	9	13	28	12	16	4	2	..
Other offences	7	9	75	32	44	3	5	..
	366	173	1,065	362	437	52	54	1
1837.								
Offences against persons	66	12	340	41	187	2	15	1
Offences against property, with violence . . .	75	37	242	44	52	4	4	1
Offences against property, without violence . . .	366	185	603	292	159	29	23	..
Malicious offences against property	4	..	18	3	10	1	2	..
Forgery, and offences against currency . . .	12	10	27	7	24	3	7	1
Other offences	28	14	115	41	47	2	14	..
	445	248	1,345	427	479	41	65	2
1838.								
Offences against persons	67	■	396	45	194	4	44	..
Offences against property, with violence . . .	68	32	266	98	96	15	3	..
Offences against property, without violence . . .	171	135	637	337	216	33	26	1
Malicious offences against property	3	1	22	4	16	..	4	1
Forgery, and offences against currency . . .	8	11	29	16	21	3	9	..
Other offences	31	6	169	41	36	6	5	..
	353	193	1,529	541	569	61	91	2
1839.								
Offences against persons	66	13	364	40	169	5	26	2
Offences against property, with violence . . .	83	29	262	73	62	5	2	..
Offences against property, without violence . . .	264	199	668	427	164	27	14	1
Malicious offences against property	9	2	24	6	11	1	..	..
Forgery, and offences against currency . . .	12	9	56	34	23	4	8	..
Other offences	26	5	120	31	36	1	4	..
	453	257	1,494	610	465	43	54	3

SCOTLAND.	Neither Read nor Write.		Read or Write imperfectly.		Read and Write well.		Superior Instruction.	
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1840.								
Offences against persons	93	30	416	59	161	2	18	..
Offences against property, with violence	86	39	265	81	58	6	5	1
Offences against property, without violence	300	210	775	413	190	37	20	3
Malicious offences against property	3	..	24	4	22	..	6	..
Forgery and offences against currency	8	13	56	33	38	6	9	..
Other offences	50	19	142	29	45	4	9	..
	540	311	1,678	619	504	55	67	4
1841.								
Offences against persons	92	23	445	71	174	5	8	..
Offences against property, with violence	65	26	242	53	34	6	4	..
Offences against property, without violence	204	180	650	480	193	55	21	3
Malicious offences against property	7	5	30	6	18	..	..	..
Forgery, and offences against currency	19	11	48	32	19	4	2	..
Other offences	55	16	147	35	38	8	4	..
	435	261	1,562	676	476	78	39	3

The commitments for crime in Scotland are much fewer in proportion to the population than in England. In 1841 the proportions were, in England and Wales, one committal for 573 persons, and in Scotland one for 738 persons. The comparison in favour of Scotland in this respect, as evincing a greater degree of personal respectability, is, however, at least neutralized by the much larger proportion of females committed in Scotland. In that year (1841) there was committed in England and Wales one in every 1565 females living, and in Scotland one in every 1343. The proportion of convictions to commitments is greater in Scotland than in England. Those proportions in each of the six years from 1836 to 1841 were,—

	England and Wales.	Scotland.
1836	70·39 per cent.	73·64 per cent.
1837	72·37 "	74·60 "
1838	72·68 "	76·74 "
1839	72·95 "	75·82 "
1840	73·29 "	75·13 "
1841	73·05 "	74·87 "

This result is probably owing to the investigation by competent persons which precedes commitment in Scotland; a circumstance which may, in some measure, account also for the fewer commitments proportioned to population than are made in England.

The proportionate ages at which committals were made in each of the years 1836 to 1841, in Scotland, were—

	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841
Aged 12 years and under . .	2·40	2·69	2·16	3·11	3·39	3·68
Above 12 and not exceeding 16	12·60	14·01	12·69	14·99	14·41	13·81
" 16 "	21	24·98	23·80	26·30	25·84	22·83
" 21 "	30	31·79	29·72	29·43	28·30	31·07
" 30 "	40	15·67	15·64	16·00	15·89	15·70
" 40 "	50	6·98	7·74	6·20	7·27	7·41
" 50 "	60	3·01	3·33	2·57	3·11	2·89
Above 60 years	0·82	1·34	0·76	0·91	1·53	1·24
Ages unknown	1·85	1·73	3·89	0·58	0·77	0·45
	100·	100·	100·	100·	100·	100·

The proportionate numbers under 16 years are much greater than in England. The actual numbers of boys and girls charged with offences were—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
1836	380	58	438
1837	452	70	522
1838	426	82	508
1839	491	125	616
1840	554	135	689
1841	497	126	623

The increase in these numbers, from year to year, is

even greater proportionally to the number than in England.

The number of accused persons in Scotland, to whom instruction beyond reading and writing had been imparted, are given in a preceding table. It has not been practicable to obtain any analysis of these cases for any year except 1836, when the number of instructed persons accused was fifty-five, of whom one was a female, the whole numbers accused having been 2223 males and 699 females. Of the fifty-five instructed persons accused, forty-one were convicted. Their offences were,—

Bestiality	1
Assaults	14
Housebreaking	2
Theft—14 males, 1 female . . .	15
Fraud	2
Forgery	3
Perjury	1
Breach of the peace	1
Other offences.	2
	<hr/>
	41

The punishments awarded were,—

Transportation for life	2
„ 14 years. . . .	1
„ 7 „	1
	<hr/>
	4
Outlawry	2
Imprisonment for 12 months . .	1
„ 9 „	1
„ 8 „	1
„ 6 „	2
„ 4 „	2
„ 3 „	2
„ 2 „	7
„ 40 days	1
„ 1 month	5

Imprisonment for 20 days . . .	1
„ 14 „ . . .	3
„ 10 „ . . .	1
	— 27
Fined £5 0s.	1
„ 3 3s. each	2
„ 2 2s.	1
„ 1 0s.	1
„ Sum not mentioned . . .	2
	— 7
Discharged on giving surety . . .	1
	— 41

The ages of the forty-one convicts were,—

Under 20 years	2
Between 20 and 30 years . . .	23
Between 30 and 45 years . . .	12
Above 45 years	4
	— 41

During the six years embraced by the returns we have been examining, there were only sixteen educated females accused of offences in Scotland. We have not any means for ascertaining the result of these accusations, but comparing that number with the result in England, we find that it is far less favourable. Taking the difference of population into the calculation, there should have been in the six years not more than five educated females accused in Scotland to be equal to the twenty-eight accused in the same period in England and Wales. This difference is probably owing to the more general spread of instruction in Scotland, and therefore to the greater proportion of the population qualified to rank among well-instructed persons.

During the year for which we are thus enabled to analyze the criminal returns, there were only fifteen counties among the thirty-two into which Scotland is divided that furnished causes for criminal accusations

against educated persons. The returns do not distinguish the counties in which convictions followed, but in the following table will be seen the numbers of persons of that class who were accused in each of the six years, 1836 to 1841, in the several counties of Scotland. It will be found, on inspection of this table, that there is one county, Peebles-shire, which presents an honourable blank; that there are four counties—Banff, Bute, Caithness, and Wigton—in each of which only one accusation appears during the six years; that there are six other counties—Clackmannan, Elgin, Inverness, Kirkcudbright, Nairn, and Ross and Cromarty—each of which, during the six years, furnished two accusals against educated persons; that five other counties, viz.—Berwick, Dumbarton, Orkney and Zetland, Selkirk and Sutherland—did not furnish, on the average, each one such accusal in the year; and that there were only seven of the thirty-two counties against whose educated inhabitants accusations were brought in every one of the six years:—

	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	Total.
Aberdeen . . .	13	12	4	2	3	2	36
Argyle . . .	..	..	6	2	..	3	11
Ayr . . .	2	..	..	5	..	..	7
Banff . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Berwick . . .	..	..	..	2	1	..	3
Bute . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Caithness . . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Clackmannan . .	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
Dumbarton . .	..	1	..	..	2	1	4
Dumfries . . .	1	..	2	1	3	..	7
Edinburgh. . .	6	14	22	9	9	4	64
Elgin and Moray	..	..	..	1	..	1	2
Fife . . .	1	..	1	2	3	4	11
Forfar . . .	6	7	7	2	3	6	31
Haddington . .	1	..	3	1	2	1	8

	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	Total.
Inverness . . .	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
Kincardine . . .	1	1	..	2	3	..	7
Kinross . . .	1	5	..	..	1	..	7
Kirkcudbright . .	..	..	..	1	..	1	2
Lanark. . . .	11	14	12	5	11	5	58
Linlithgow. . .	1	2	6	6	3	2	20
Nairn . . . .	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
Orkney & Zetland	..	..	2	2	1	..	5
Peebles. . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Perth	2	1	8	..	4	..	15
Renfrew . . .	5	4	7	7	8	2	33
Ross and Cromarty	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Roxburgh . . .	3	3	3	3	7	5	24
Selkirk . . . .	..	1	..	1	1	1	4
Stirling . . . .	..	1	6	2	2	1	12
Sutherland . . .	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Wigton . . . .	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
	55	68	93	57	71	42	386

The criminal returns for Ireland have not hitherto been made to distinguish between persons who read and write well, and those who have been instructed in any higher branch of knowledge; it will not be possible, therefore, to carry this line of examination into the criminal statistics of that part of the United Kingdom; but in closing the remarks which the facts here recorded, as experienced in Great Britain, so naturally called for, regarding the influence of education in restraining from the commission of crime, it is necessary to guard against the inference that to instruct a man beyond the merest elements of human acquirement will suffice to destroy all tendency to evil courses, and that we require nothing more than the initiation of the people generally into some certain branches of school learning in order to render our prisons useless, and to shut up our courts of justice. That amid the many thousands who are yearly called to

answer for offences committed against the persons and the property of their fellow citizens, so very small a proportion as 45 in 10,000 in England, and 197 in 10,000 in Scotland, should have belonged to classes having received the benefit of something beyond the merest rudiments of knowledge, ought not to lead us to believe that the same amount of instruction, if imparted to all, would diminish offences in anything like that proportion. In communities where the great mass of the people are left in ignorance, and only a few, comparatively, are instructed, those few will find themselves in a far better position than the mass for obtaining honest employment, and thus will have fewer temptations to withstand. If all were equally instructed, this condition, of course, could not exist, and then we might be better able to estimate at its true value the moral influence of instruction. Knowing what we know of the quality of education as it has usually been imparted to the youth of this country, dare we hope that its restraining influence would be great? It is true, we might even then expect to put an end to much of the violence and fraud by which the community is now disgraced. Merely instructed persons would better calculate the worldly advantages and disadvantages of right and wrong conduct; and who can estimate how much of crime and consequent misery in the world result from miscalculation! But further, is it not certain that an instructed community would be able to apply its energies more beneficially for the whole than is possible where general ignorance prevails that employments would be more certain and more profitable, and temptations to dishonesty fewer and weaker? *

* The proportion of offenders in England and Wales, in 1841, was 1 in 573 of the population; in Scotland, 1 in 742; a difference in favour of the latter which it is fair to attribute in great part, if not

It is a common remark, that in every community we must look to those who occupy the middle rank of society for the greatest amount of virtue; and we may believe that the remark would not have received, as it has, the general assent of society, unless it has been supported at least by appearances. Is it true, then, that a condition midway between poverty and affluence is the most favourable to human excellence, meaning, by that term, virtuous conduct proceeding from principle? This may well be doubted. We may find that a smaller proportion of open profligacy exists among persons placed in that condition than is apparent among the richer class, and in the ranks of the poor, without being therefore forced to admit that the middle class is governed by a nicer sense of propriety or juster views of duty than others. May it not be, that the greater decency of their conduct is the result of circumstances rather than of principle; that, being removed from the temptations offered by idleness and opportunity to the rich, and from the yet stronger temptations of want, from which there is no escape for the poor, they are constrained to pursue a routine of daily employment which leaves but little time for the indulgence of immoral pursuits? The judgment of men upon the conduct of others can only be formed upon a view of their outward acts, since we cannot duly appreciate their motives for what they do, nor the degree of fortitude exercised in what they resist; else we might probably find that good dispositions are pretty equally divided, and be made to acknowledge their existence under circumstances apparently the most unpromising.

The good effect which honest employment is calculated to produce upon even the worst of criminals, and entirely, to the more general spread of instruction as compared in that respect with England.

under apparently the most unfavourable circumstances, may be learned from the following testimony offered by the Honourable Grey Bennet to the committee on the state of the police of the metropolis, which sat in 1817, and of which he was chairman.

"I had been there (Newgate prison) a few weeks before, and found it, as usual, in the most degraded and afflicting state. The women were then mixed all together, old and young—the young beginners with the old offenders—the girl for the first offence with the hardened and drunken prostitute—the tried with the untried—the accused with the condemned—the transports with those under sentence of death; all were crowded together in one promiscuous assemblage, noisy, idle, and profligate; clamorous at the gratings soliciting money, and begging at the prison window with spoons attached to the ends of sticks. In little more than a fortnight the whole scene was changed, through the humane and philanthropic exertions of Mrs. Fry, the wife of a banker in the city. In the first yard I visited were seventy-eight women; sixty-five of these were employed on needlework which had been procured for them. In one fortnight the work done was 344 shirts, 64 shifts, 59 aprons, and 250 pinafores. There are yet no proper means for classification and arrangement of the prisoners, but the change in their appearance was most striking. The bold hardened look of guilt was gone—the impudent system of begging had ceased—all were busy and cheerful, and at least looked contented and happy. I asked in all the rooms of the prisons if they preferred occupation to idleness, and if they approved of the change? The answer was unanimously, yes; and several with tears in their eyes said, 'If we had had any means of gaining our bread, we should not have been here.' "

What a lesson in government may be learned from this declaration! It is not pretended that the active interference of government can possibly be given, or that if it were possible it would be efficacious, in providing honest employments for the people. But much may be done in removing legislative impediments that lie in the way of industry, in opening new markets, and extending those already open to our commerce; and until all that is possible in this respect shall have been accomplished, and all that is needed in the way of education and moral training of the people shall have been supplied, is it unjust to say that a part, at least, of the criminality, induced by restrictions and by ignorance, lies at the door of the legislature?

If forced to leave the question here, there would, however, be but little cause for hoping that in future years the rapid march of crime which we have witnessed could be arrested. Our hopes, in this respect, must be based upon the conviction, fast gaining converts among all that are powerful to influence the course of legislation, that to impart mechanically the rudiments of instruction, or even to carry a pupil through a course of classical learning, should not be considered education—that the educator must form the character as well as store the memory—must implant as living principles within the pupil's heart a reverence for truth and justice. To imagine that this end can be attained without awakening the spirit of religion in his heart, were worse than useless; but when this chord, which can be found when sought for in every human breast, shall once be rightly attuned, all difficulty must be over, and it must thenceforth be next to impossible for any degree of temptation to draw him into the ranks of habitual criminality.

The Irish returns of crime have not until late years

been rendered with regularity. The number of committals and convictions in each of the eight years from 1805 to 1812 inclusive were as follows:—

	Committed.	Convicted.
1805	3,600	609
1806	3,781	643
1807	3,522	608
1808	3,704	668
1809	3,641	848
1810	3,799	819
1811	4,162	1,113
1812	4,386	1,458

The proportion of convictions to committals in the above years is on the average but little more than 22 per cent., affording an unfavourable view of the administration of justice in Ireland at that time. In each of the six years from 1805 to 1810 there were executed—

1805	42, of whom 9 were for murder.
1806	42 „ 10 „
1807	55 „ 10 „
1808	53 „ 15 „
1809	66 „ 13 „
1810	29 „ 13 „

Between 1812 and 1822 there must have occurred either a fearful increase of crime, or a much more vigilant police, for the committals in that interval of ten years were trebled in number. The returns from 1822 done to the present time have been given with regularity, and we find that the committals and convictions, the numbers sentenced to death, and the executions in each year from 1822 to 1834, were as follows:—

Years.	Males.	Committed. Females.	Total.	Convicted.	Sentenced to Death.	Total Exe- cuted.	Executed for Murder.
1822	12,766	2,485	15,251	7,572	341	101	42
1823	12,240	2,392	14,632	7,285	241	61	18
1824	12,444	2,814	15,258	7,742	295	60	41

Years.	Committed.			Convicted.	Sentenced to Death.	Total Exe- cuted.	Executed for Murder.
	Males.	Females.	Total.				
1825	12,563	2,952	15,515	8,571	181	18	9
1826	13,268	3,050	16,318	8,716	281	34	17
1827	14,598	3,433	18,031	10,207	346	37	12
1828	11,919	2,764	14,683	9,269	211	21	16
1829	12,471	2,800	15,271	9,449	224	38	21
1830	12,709	3,085	15,794	9,902	262	39	14
1831	13,148	3,044	16,192	9,605	307	37	25
1832	13,160	2,896	16,056	9,759	319	39	17
1833	14,923	2,896	17,819	11,444	237	39	26
1834	17,757	3,624	21,381	14,253	197	43	31

In 1835 the returns were assimilated in most respects to those made in England and Scotland, exhibiting the number of offenders, male and female, in each of the six divisions or classes of crimes as already explained;* distinguishing also the ages of persons committed, and (with the important omission of those instructed beyond reading and writing) showing their degree of instruction also.

The number of committals and convictions in each of the six divisions in the years since 1834 have been as follows:—

First Class.		Second Class.		Third Class.	
Years.	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.
1835	7,622	5,832	516	228	6,175
1836	7,769	6,099	671	331	6,593
1837	4,132	2,631	662	344	6,963
1838	4,325	2,710	610	263	7,436
1839	7,457	3,156	1,255	352	11,143
1840	5,708	2,584	1,146	334	10,514
1841	5,297	2,324	1,127	316	8,313

Fourth Class.		Fifth Class.		Sixth Class.	
Years.	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.
1835	369	174	184	86	6,309
1836	500	281	214	114	8,141

* See page 194.

	Fourth Class.		Fifth Class.		Sixth Class.	
Years.	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.	Convicted.
1837	198	111	161	104	2,688	1,868
1838	122	35	194	105	3,036	1,967
1839	306	74	179	76	6,052	2,696
1840	218	82	201	100	6,045	2,431
1841	315	48	153	62	5,591	2,041

The total numbers of males and females committed, of convictions, of sentences to death, and of executions, in these seven years, were :—

Years.	Committed.			Convicted.	Sentenced to Death.	Total Executed.	Executed for Murder.
	Males.	Females.	Total.				
1835	17,398	3,807	21,205	15,216	179	27	19
1836	19,619	4,272	23,891	18,110	175	14	12
1837	11,320	3,484	14,804	9,536	154	10	10
1838	11,764	3,959	15,723	9,609	39	3	3
1839	20,094	6,298	26,392	12,049	66	17	15
1840	17,835	5,998	23,833	11,194	43	..	..
1841	15,507	5,289	20,796	9,287	40	5	5

On inspecting these figures one cannot fail to be struck with the exceedingly great degree of irregularity experienced in the latter years of the series. There is the same and (population considered) even a greater rapidity of increase than we have seen in England, but attended with the most violent alternations. The committals, which were 23,891 in 1836, fell in the following year to 14,804, or 38 per cent. ; in 1838 the number was nearly as moderate ; but in 1839 it jumped to 26,392, an advance of 67 per cent., and which exhibited the proportion of accusations to the population as 1 in 307, while in England during the same year it was as 1 in 634. Between 1836 and 1837 the convictions were lessened in a greater degree than the committals, viz., from 18,110 to 9536, or 47 per cent. ; while the increase

of convictions in 1839 from 1838 was only 25½ per cent.

The greatest amount of fluctuations have occurred with respect to four heads of offences,—assaults, illicit distillation, riot and rescue, and misdemeanors not otherwise described. If the numbers found under those titles are subtracted from the whole, the agreement between the various years will be in a great measure established—

	1835		1836		1837		1838	
	Com- mitted	Con- victed.	Com- mitted	Con- victed.	Com- mitted	Con- victed.	Com- mitted	Con- victed.
Assaults. . . .	6,176	5,266	6,401	5,457	3,013	2,904	3,254	2,192
Illicit distillation .	798	794	596	585	..	..	17	17
Riot and rescue .	1,905	1,717	2,013	1,687	1,693	1,280	2,163	1,589
Misdemeanors . .	3,066	2,358	5,006	4,431	536	366	506	226
Total offences	11,944	10,135	14,006	12,160	5,242	3,850	5,945	4,023
Committed } for Convicted } other	9,361	..	9,885	..	9,562	..	9,778	..
offences	..	5,081	..	5,950	..	5,686	..	5,586

	1839		1840		1841	
	Com- mitted	Con- victed.	Com- mitted.	Con- victed.	Com- mitted.	Con- victed.
Assaults. . . .	5,886	2,625	4,777	2,233	4,273	1,989
Illicit distillation .	9	9	..	..	..	..
Riot and rescue .	4,730	2,181	4,758	1,951	4,853	1,633
Misdemeanors . .	978	409	809	387	713	227
Total offences	11,603	5,224	10,337	4,621	9,339	3,849
	26,392	12,049	23,833	11,194	20,796	9,287
Committed } for Convicted } other	14,789	..	13,496	..	11,457	..
offences	..	6,825	..	6,673	..	5,438

The per centage proportion of offenders in each of the six classes, and during each of the seven years, was:—

	Offences against the Person.	Offences against Property with Violence.	Offences against Property without Violence.	Malignant Offences against Property.	Forgery, and Offences against the Currency.	Other Offences.	Total.
1835	35.93	2.57	29.12	1.74	0.87	29.75	100.00
1836	32.52	2.81	27.60	2.09	0.89	34.08	100.00
1837	27.91	4.47	47.04	1.34	1.08	19.16	100.00
1838	27.51	3.88	47.29	0.78	1.23	19.31	100.00
1839	28.25	4.76	42.22	1.16	0.68	22.93	100.00
1840	23.95	4.81	44.12	0.91	0.84	25.37	100.00
1841	25.47	5.42	39.98	1.51	0.73	26.89	100.00

The ages of persons committed in each of the years were as follow :—

	1835		1836		1837		1838	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
12 years and under	123	75	183	24	81	21	103	103
From 12 to 16 years	804	168	972	212	765	150	698	163
" 16 to 21 "	3,863	973	4,562	1,107	3,460	835	2,409	950
" 21 to 30 "	7,296	1,536	8,044	1,748	4,413	1,424	4,217	1,585
" 30 to 40 "	2,973	631	3,190	691	1,975	604	1,991	628
" 40 to 50 "	1,068	254	1,274	293	889	275	1,000	275
" 50 to 60 "	463	112	582	101	273	95	310	115
Above 60 years.	125	43	160	39	104	39	101	40
Not ascertained	653	75	652	57	355	41	935	174
	17,298	3,807	19,619	4,272	11,320	3,464	11,764	3,959

	1839		1840		1841	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
12 years and under	267	55	260	63	267	76
From 12 to 16 years	924	270	924	298	859	257
" 16 to 21 "	2,620	1,093	2,665	1,276	2,238	1,056
" 21 to 30 "	4,519	1,744	5,195	2,053	4,558	1,745
" 30 to 40 "	1,820	715	2,400	817	2,069	779
" 40 to 50 "	837	338	1,058	409	958	349
" 50 to 60 "	308	196	449	170	398	112
Above 60 years	99	55	193	44	138	64
Not ascertained	8,710	1,902	4,691	868	4,033	840
	20,094	6,293	17,835	5,938	15,518	5,278

The centesimal proportions of committals at different ages are added for the purpose of comparing them with the returns for England and Scotland,—

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841
12 years and under	0·67	0·89	0·74	0·84	2·04	1·77	2·15
From 12 to 16 years	4·75	5·11	6·35	5·89	7·57	6·69	7·01
„ 16 to 21 „	23·65	24·45	22·86	23·05	23·53	21·57	20·69
„ 21 to 30 „	43·20	42·24	40·51	39·70	39·69	39·66	39·58
„ 30 to 40 „	17·63	16·74	17·90	17·92	16·07	17·60	17·89
„ 40 to 50 „	6·47	6·76	8·08	8·72	7·38	8·03	8·21
„ 50 to 60 „	2·81	2·95	2·56	2·91	2·75	3·39	3·20
Above 60 years .	0·82	0·86	1·00	0·97	0·97	1·29	1·27
	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00

In the above table, the number of persons whose ages were not ascertained is omitted, since it was so great in some years as wholly to have deranged the proportions. In England and Scotland the numbers unknown were insignificant. The larger proportion of children apparent in the last three years no doubt results from the unascertained ages having been of grown-up persons, since there would be little difficulty in determining the ages of children under sixteen years.

To persons who have had occasion to pursue statistical inquiries on questions connected with Ireland, it will not be matter for much surprise that, in this particular matter of ascertaining the ages of persons charged with offences, there should be evinced so much want of care. In one of the seven years during which those ages have been required (1837), they were obtained with a tolerable degree of completeness, the ages of only 396 out of 14,804, or 2·67 per cent., being deficient, proving thereby that the accomplishment of the task is within the ability of the officers to accomplish; two years later we find that out of 26,392 persons accused the ages are wanting of 10,612, or 40·20 per cent.; and although in

the two following years the deficiency is not so considerable, it is still out of all reason great. The numbers of accused persons whose ages were not ascertained in each of the years during which this branch of inquiry has been ordered in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, have been as follows :—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1835	396	..	758
1836	438	54	709
1837	423	54	396
1838	410	133	1,109
1839	560	20	10,612
1840	573	30	5,559
1841	559	16	4,873

The same degree of neglect has been shown in collecting information concerning the degrees of instruction, although the inquiries on this head in Ireland have been simplified in a way to deprive the returns of a great part of their value if even they had been made to include the whole number, by omitting to distinguish, as is done in England and Scotland, persons instructed beyond mere reading and writing. The numbers as to whom their intellectual condition was not ascertained in the several years were :—

1835	4,889 in 21,205, or 23·05 per cent.
1836	1,817 „ 23,891 „ 7·61 „
1837	901 „ 14,804 „ 6·09 „
1838	1,415 „ 15,723 „ 9·00 „
1839	11,164 „ 26,392 „ 42·30 „
1840	5,345 „ 23,833 „ 22·42 „
1841	4,909 „ 20,796 „ 23·61 „

Discarding from the calculation the numbers as to whom the returns are thus deficient—for to include them would of course give a false view of the subject—the numbers and centesimal proportions of persons accused

in Ireland in the seven years from 1835 to 1841, distinguished according to their condition of instruction, were :—

Years.	Neither Read nor Write.		Read only.		Read and Write.	
	Number.	Proportion.	Number.	Proportion.	Number.	Proportion.
1835	7,775	47·65	3,280	20·10	5,263	32·25
1836	10,030	45·44	4,810	21·79	7,234	32·77
1837	6,336	45·57	3,056	21·98	4,511	32·45
1838	6,808	47·58	2,773	19·38	4,727	33·04
1839	6,647	43·65	3,174	20·84	5,407	35·51
1840	8,400	45·44	3,620	19·58	6,468	34·98
1841	7,152	45·02	3,084	19·41	5,651	35·57

That the deficiencies here noticed arise from neglect, and not from any peculiar difficulty attending such inquiries in Ireland, is evident by the fact, that in the two years 1840 and 1841, the returns for which have been examined for that purpose, there were five counties from which these returns in both years were complete, and fourteen other counties where the deficiencies were but trifling, while in several of the remaining counties whence the inquiries have been most unsatisfactorily answered, the numbers deficient in respect both of age and of instruction are identical, or nearly so, *e. g.*—

	Deficient in the Returns for			
	1840.		1841.	
	Ages.	Instruction.	Ages.	Instruction.
Cavan	418	418	410	448
Cork	562	552	952	952
Donegal	96	98	67	67
Down	66	66	19	19
Dublin	41	41	..	..
Galway	778	777	258	258
Mayo	217	217	498	498
Sligo	211	211	166	166
Wicklow	129	129	70	70

Comparing the three divisions of the kingdom with each other in respect of juvenile delinquency, we find

that the centesimal proportions of persons charged with offences who were under sixteen years of age, were as follows :—

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	Mean.
England	11·37	11·55	11·24	11·50	11·82	11·59	11·57	11·52
Scotland	..	15·00	16·70	14·85	18·10	17·80	17·49	16·66
Ireland	5·42	6·00	7·09	5·73	9·61	8·46	9·16	7·49

The comparatively small proportion of offending children in Ireland is probably owing to the preponderance in number in that island of crimes of violence, for the commission of which children are physically disqualified, while the larger proportion of young offenders in Scotland may be referred to the circumstance already mentioned of the superior general instruction of the Scotch people, and which opens to them during manhood more opportunity for honest employment than is found in England. If calculated according to the population in each division of the kingdom, and not in relation to the aggregate number of offenders, it will be found that the mean number of committals of children under sixteen years of age during the above years, was :—

In England 1 in 5,564 of the population

Scotland 1 in 4,495 "

Ireland 1 in 6,244 "

proportions much more nearly in agreement with each other than they are with the whole number of offenders, which seems to show that the various circumstances which determine the tendencies to crime in the different divisions of the kingdom do not develope themselves so as greatly to influence conduct in the earlier years of life.

The subject of prison discipline is one which has of late years claimed much attention on the part of the government and the legislature, and various extensive reforms have been effected in the management of pri-

soners. Until of late years, the only quality about a prison that seems to have been thought indispensable was its strength to retain its inmates; and if the gaoler was possessed of activity and personal courage, it was never questioned whether he were ignorant or instructed, humane or brutal in disposition, correct or dissolute in his conduct. Mr. Fielding, one of the magistrates of Queen-square police-office, when examined before the committee of the House of Commons on the police of the metropolis in 1816, respecting the sufficiency of prison accommodation, is reported to have said—"As to the Coldbath-fields prison, I was of the number of justices who voted for the appointment of the man (as governor) who is there now,—I mean Atkins, who I thought the best suited man that could be found for the purpose, being a man of great intrepidity, which is the greatest quality that can recommend such a man." A quarter of a century has since passed, and we have in the interval come to the belief that other qualities beyond mere personal intrepidity are needed to fit a man for having the custody and control of criminals. A class of men very different from those among whom Atkins, the Bow-street runner, was selected, are now placed in such situations, and somewhat more is required at their hands than that they shall keep their prisoners in subjection by brute force.

An Act was passed in 1835 for effecting greater uniformity of practice in the government of prisons, and for appointing inspectors of prisons in Great Britain. Under this Act five gentlemen have been appointed to visit and inspect every gaol, bridewell, house of correction, penitentiary, or other prison in any part of Great Britain; to examine any person holding office in the same, to inspect all books and papers, and to inquire into all

CHAPTER III.

MANNERS.

Imperfect Views in former Times concerning the Means proper for repressing Offenders—Drunkenness—Its Prevalence in 1736—Means taken for its Suppression—Failure of those Means—Quantity of Ardent Spirits consumed then compared with the present Time—Drunkenness not confined formerly to the Working Classes—General Coarseness of Conversation, and in popular Writers—Anecdote related by Sir Walter Scott—State of Morals and Manners fifty Years ago, as stated in evidence before the House of Commons—Progressive Improvement occasioned by the general spread of Information—Increased Temperance not extended to Scotland—Evidence of Sheriff Alison—Infrequency of Prize-fighting compared with former Times—Greater refinement of the public Press—General improvement in personal Morality.

THE result of the examination of our criminal statistics, contained in the preceding chapter, is calculated to excite feelings at once of regret and of hope—of regret, that the science of government in this, one of its most important branches, has hitherto been so ill understood or so ineffectually followed out as to have allowed the fearful growth of criminality exhibited by parliamentary returns—of hope, that the means of arresting and in a great degree of correcting the evil having discovered themselves by reason of the classifications of offenders which of late years have been adopted, efforts will now be made to give full efficacy to those means. Heretofore, the growing evil has been dealt with blindly, and in a spirit of empiricism—now, and hereafter, we may press forward in the work of reformation with a full

comprehension of the disease, with confidence in the means of cure, and with some assurance of success. We, and those who preceded us, have formerly been content to make the too common mistake of attacking symptoms instead of seeking out and combating the disease at its source. The degree of ignorance upon this subject which has prevailed will hardly be credited some years hence, when, as may now be reasonably expected, the desired result shall be accomplished. Dr. Colquhoun, a most active and intelligent police magistrate, to whom society is much indebted for the fearless disclosures made by him, which awakened attention to the growing evil, had yet the most imperfect conception of the means to be used for arresting it. In the evidence given by him before the select committee of the House of Commons on the police of the metropolis in 1816, we find this passage. "On or about the years 1744 or 1745, when multitudes of men and women were rolling about the streets drunk in consequence of the number of gin-shops, the physicians were consulted upon it, and then an Act was passed that no person should be entitled to a spirit licence that could not previously produce an ale licence." We must suppose, from his approval of this expedient, that Dr. Colquhoun attributed to the existence of gin-shops the disposition to drunkenness then prevalent, instead of looking at them as the consequence of the prevailing low condition of morals. How this evil was to be remedied by obliging the publican to pay a few pounds additional for an ale licence, and to keep a few gallons of ale upon his premises for such as might choose to ask for it, does not appear; neither is it shown why physicians were consulted, since there could be no doubt of the injury to the bodily frame from habitual drunkenness, and there was no thought of curing the

propensity by administering physic. The state of things, as described by Dr. Colquhoun to exist in 1745, had not then newly appeared. Ample time had then been afforded for contemplating the evil, and for attempting its cure. The addiction of the people to intoxicating drinks had reached such a point in 1736 as to occasion continual debates in parliament, and to call for remedies of a very stringent character. It was then the practice of some publicans to entice their customers with a notice painted on a board outside the house to this effect :—" You may here get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, and have clean straw for nothing." The legislators of that day, thinking that the cheapness of the liquor caused the abuse, proposed a duty of 20s. per gallon, and to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors by retail, a measure far more likely to attain the end proposed than that of obliging the publican to provide himself with a supplemental licence; and yet it signally failed in its purpose. Coxe, in his 'Life of Walpole,' speaking of it, says, "The Act led to the usual proceedings of riot and violence; the clandestine sale of gin was continued in defiance of every restriction; the demand for penalties the offenders were unable to pay filled the prisons, and, by removing every restraint, plunged them into courses more audaciously criminal." In March, 1738, a proclamation was issued to enforce the Gin Act, to protect the officers of justice in their efforts to that end, and to threaten offenders with punishment. Within less than two years from its passing, 12,000 people had been convicted under the Act within the bills of mortality, of whom 5000 had been sentenced to pay each a penalty of 100*l.*, and 3000 people had paid 10*l.* each to excuse their being sent to Bridewell house of correction.

These harsh proceedings failed entirely. It was given in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, in 1743, that the quantity of spirituous liquors made for consumption in England and Wales was :—

In 1733	10,500,000	gallons.
1734	13,500,000	„
1740	15,250,000	„
1741	17,000,000	„
1742	19,000,000	„

These quantities were consumed by a population not exceeding six millions, giving $3\frac{1}{2}$ gallons for each individual in 1742. One century later, and we find a population increased to sixteen millions consuming 8,166,985 gallons in the year, or half a gallon per head, showing a diminished consumption of more than five-sixths. There were, in 1742, in the bills of mortality, more than 20,000 houses and shops in which gin was sold by retail.

Nor were those habits of drunkenness confined to the labouring classes. What would now be called drinking to excess was then the universal custom in every circle, so that it was as uncommon for a party to separate while any member of it remained sober as it now is for any one in such a party to degrade himself through intoxication. This habit, which is now happily banished from all decent society, had by no means disappeared at the beginning of the present century. The reformation was then only begun which we have lived to see nearly perfected ; and who that personally witnessed the scenes of riot that forty years ago were still of too common occurrence even among reputable people, and contrasts them with the quiet and rational enjoyment that attends our social meetings at the present day, but must acknowledge that this habit of temperance in the use of intoxicating

liquors is one of the greatest, if indeed it be not the greatest, reformation that society has witnessed. In those days it rarely happened that men holding the rank and otherwise bearing the character of gentlemen rose from the table of a dinner-party in a condition to enter the society of females, and thus all were debarred from the sweetest hours of rational enjoyment which now spring from social intercourse.

It was the fitting concomitant of the habit of personal debasement, through drinking to excess, that the style of conversation at the convivial parties of gentlemen was then such as would not be tolerated in any decent society at present; nor is it to be wondered at that men who would designedly “put an enemy into their mouths to steal away their brains” should exhibit the coarseness of their minds in their habitual conversation. If we carry back our inquiries twenty years further, we may learn that coarseness of the same kind, although perhaps not in the same degree, was exhibited by educated females, and that respectable women, the mothers of families and the wives of respectable tradesmen, were accustomed to amuse their guests by singing songs that no reputable music-seller or book-seller would now admit among his wares.

Remarking upon the change of manners in this respect that has since been witnessed in this country, Sir Walter Scott relates the following curious anecdote as having happened to himself.

“A grand-aunt of my own, Mrs. Keith of Ravenstone, who was a person of some condition, being a daughter of Sir John Swinton of Swinton, lived with unabated vigour of intellect to a very advanced age. She was very fond of reading, and enjoyed it to the last of her long life. One day she asked me, when we

happened to be alone together, whether I had ever seen Mrs. Behn's novels? I confessed the charge. Whether I could get her a sight of them? I said, with some hesitation, I believed I could, but that I did not think she would like either the manners or the language, which approached too near that of Charles the Second's time to be quite proper reading. 'Nevertheless,' said the good old lady, 'I remember their being so much admired, and being so much interested in them myself, that I wish to look at them again.' To hear was to obey. So I sent Mrs. Aphra Behn, curiously sealed up, with 'private and confidential' on the packet, to my gay old grand-aunt. The next time I saw her afterwards she gave me back Aphra, properly wrapped up, with nearly these words - 'Take back your bonny Mrs. Behn, and if you will take my advice put her in the fire, for I found it impossible to get through the very first novel. But is it not,' she said, 'a very odd thing that I, an old woman of eighty and upwards, sitting alone, feel myself ashamed to read a book which sixty years ago I have heard read aloud for the amusement of large circles, consisting of the first and most creditable society in London.' '*

The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1835 to inquire into the state of the education of the people in England and Wales, contains an amount of information concerning the increased and increasing decency of deportment within the present age which is of the highest value. Among the many witnesses examined was Mr. Francis Place, who for half a century has been an attentive observer of the condition and conduct of the working people in London, and to a considerable extent throughout

* 'Lockhart's Life of Scott,' vol. v., pp. 136, 137.

the kingdom generally. Scenes and events which he relates as being of common every-day occurrence when he was an apprentice, are such as would be unbearable now, and have wholly ceased. Speaking of the habits of tradesmen and masters, he says, "The conduct of such persons was exceedingly gross as compared with the same class at the present time. Decency was a very different thing from what it is now; their manners were such as scarcely to be credited. I remember, when a boy of ten years of age, being at a party of twenty, entertained at a respectable tradesman's, who kept a good house in the Strand, where songs were sung which cannot now be more than generally described from their nastiness, such as no meeting of journeymen in London would allow to be sung in the presence of their families. There were then few rational employments at home: the men were seldom at home in the evening, except there were card-playing and drinking: they spent their time in a very useless and but too generally a mischievous manner. I made inquiries a few years ago, and found that between Temple-bar and Fleet-market there were many houses in each of which there were more books than all the tradesmen's houses in the street contained when I was a youth. The ballads sung about the streets, and the books openly sold, cannot be adequately described. I have given you in writing words of some common ballads which you would not think fit to have uttered in this committee. At that time the songs were of the most indecent kind; no one would mention them in any society now; they were publicly sung and sold in the streets and markets. Books were openly sold in shops of booksellers in leading streets which can only be procured clandestinely now. I have seen the Prayer-book, the Racing Calendar, and these books, bound alike,

side by side in very respectable shop-windows in the leading streets. Between Blackfriars and Westminster-hall there were fourteen clubs under the name of cock-and-hen-clubs. I attended several of them when I was an apprentice. There was one in the Savoy, where a girl used to sit at one end of the table and a boy at the other ; I have seen the chairs placed upon the table ; the amusements were smoking, drinking, swearing, and singing obscene songs ; what else followed you may easily conclude. I do not believe there has been a club of the sort for many years past within the same space. There are a few of them still in London, but very few ; they are held in very obscure places, and frequented by the very worst of the community. The places of public resort, the tea-gardens, were formerly as notorious as they were infamous. The Dog and Duck, for instance ; I have been there when almost a mere boy, and seen the flashy women come out to take leave of the thieves at dusk, and wish them success. The Apollo Gardens was another of these infamous places ; it was opened under the pretence of musical entertainments ; and there was the Temple of Flora ; it was a long gallery fitted up in a superb manner, and when lighted, was a very fascinating place ; there were boxes where boys and girls and men and women assembled ; there were also close or private boxes. Another of those places was the Bull-in-the-pound, in Spa-fields, frequented by thieves and dissolute people. In Gray's-inn-lane was the Blue Lion, commonly called the Blue Cat ; I have seen the landlord of this place come into the long room with a lump of silver in his hand, which he had melted for the thieves, and pay them for it. There was no disguise about it ; it was done openly : there is no such place now. The amusements of the people were

all of a gross nature. We hear much talk of the desecration of the Sabbath, but it was much more desecrated formerly. At the time I am speaking of, there were scarcely any houses on the eastern side of Tottenham-court-road; there and in the Long-fields were several large ponds; the amusements here were duck-hunting and badger-baiting; they would throw a cat into the water and set dogs at her; great cruelty was constantly practised, and the most abominable scenes used to take place. It is almost impossible for any person to believe the atrocities of low life at that time, which were not, as now, confined to the worst paid and most ignorant of the populace. I am not aware of any new vice having sprung up among the people; there has been a decrease of vice in every respect, and a great increase of decency and respectability."

The foregoing passages, which for the sake of brevity have been put into the narrative form, are faithfully extracted from the answers made by Mr. Place when under examination by the committee. The only liberty that has been taken is the suppression of some of the more revolting circumstances brought forward by Mr. Place in illustration of his opinions.

When asked, "To what do you principally attribute those improvements?" Mr. Place answered—"To information; you will find, as the working people get more information, they get better habits." He added, "Every class above another teaches that below it; the journeyman tradesman is above the common labourer, and manners descend from class to class." The whole of the evidence given by Mr. Place on this occasion is of the deepest interest to all who wish to study with the aim of remedying the moral evils of society by rational and therefore by practicable means.

The sobriety which among educated persons has taken place of the contrary habit has in a great degree been adopted by the labouring classes also. It is true there is still much of intoxication among us, and much of other vices and crimes to which habitual intoxication surely leads the way; scenes of depravity, however, no longer court the public gaze, but in a great degree have passed away. The Apollo Gardens, the Dog and Duck, and other places of popular resort in those days, to which those who remember them can now never refer but with disgust, exist no longer; they would no longer be tolerated among us. It might be expected that this improvement would exhibit itself in different degrees in various localities. Our seaports are still liable to the old reproach of drunken habits; and the reform has not as yet made any deep impression upon the working people of Scotland.* Mr. Alison, the sheriff of Lanarkshire, in his evidence given before the committee on combinations of workmen so recently as 1838, speaking of the habit of intemperance in Scotland, said,—“I know opium is used to a certain extent, but I think whisky there supersedes everything. In short, I may mention one fact to the committee which will illustrate the extent to which the use of whisky is carried; in London, the proportion of public-houses to other houses is as one to fifty-six; in Glasgow, it is as one to ten; every tenth house in Glasgow is a spirit-shop. I should say, as far as my statistical researches have gone, that the proportion of whisky drunk in Glasgow is twice or thrice as much as in any similar population upon the face of the globe.” Being asked whether the proportion of spirit-shops mentioned was greater than it was fifteen or twenty years ago, Mr.

* It has been already shown (page 55) how importantly the good work has been forwarded in Ireland through the exertions of one earnest benefactor of his race.

Alison stated that it was considerably increasing ; that in 1824 every fourteenth house was a public-house, and that the proportions since and at different times ascertained, have been one in twelve, one in eleven, and (as already stated) in 1838, one in ten. Mr. Alison gives a deplorable account of the moral condition of the people of Glasgow. He says, " I think that in Glasgow there are 80,000 people (the whole population is 257,000) who have hardly any moral or religious education at all ; they have hardly any education in worldly matters ; and though they can most of them read and write, they are, practically speaking, uneducated." It would be indeed surprising if, under those circumstances, the population of Glasgow were to exhibit any but the lowest state of morals ; and the various particulars given by Mr. Alison of their coarseness and brutality seem to follow as a necessary consequence from the neglect of which they are thus the victims.

It is at once a consequence of the comparative sobriety of the age, and a help to its continuance, that great numbers of houses have been opened for the sale of cups of coffee and tea at low prices. It is said that there are from 1600 to 1800 of these coffee-houses in the metropolis alone, and that they are established and rapidly increasing all over the country ; about thirty years ago there were not above a dozen of those houses to be found in London, and in these the prices charged for the refreshment they afforded were such as to limit to a very few the number of their customers. Some interesting information concerning these establishments was given before the committee of 1840 which was appointed to inquire concerning the operation of the several duties levied on imports, and popularly known as " the Import Duties Committee."

The charge made at these houses for a cup of excellent

coffee, with sugar and milk, varies from one penny up to three-pence. There are many houses where the lowest of these charges is made, and which are each frequented by 700 to 800 persons daily. One house in Sherrard-street, Haymarket, is mentioned where the charge is three-half-pence, and the daily customers average from 1500 to 1600 persons of "all classes, from hackney-coachmen and porters to the most respectable classes," including many foreigners. The house opens at half-past five in the morning and closes at half-past ten at night. The temptation to frequent these houses is not confined to the coffee or tea that is provided, but the frequenters are furnished with a variety of newspapers and periodical publications. In the coffee-house just mentioned there are taken forty-three London daily papers (including several copies of the leading journals), seven country papers, six foreign papers, twenty-four monthly magazines, four quarterly reviews, and eleven weekly periodicals. The proprietor of another house stated to the committee that he had paid 400*l.* a year for newspapers, magazines, and binding. He said, "I have upon the average 400 to 450 persons that frequent my house daily; they are mostly lawyers' clerks and commercial men; some of them are managing clerks; and there are many solicitors, likewise highly respectable gentlemen, who take coffee in the middle of the day in preference to a more stimulating drink. I have often asked myself the question where all that number of persons could possibly have got their refreshment prior to opening my house. There were taverns in the neighbourhood, but no coffee-house, nor anything that afforded any accommodation of the nature I now give them; and I found that a place of business like mine was so sought for by the public, that shortly

after I opened it I was obliged to increase my premises in every way I could ; and at the present moment, besides a great number of newspapers every day, I am compelled to take in the highest class of periodicals. For instance, we have eight or nine quarterly publications, costing from four to six shillings each, and we are constantly asked for every new work that has come out. I find there is an increasing taste for a better class of reading. When I first went into business many of my customers were content with the lower-priced periodicals ; but I find, as time progresses, that the taste is improving, and they look out now for a better class of literature." Another of these parties stated :—" I believe we may trace the teetotal societies and those societies that advocate temperance for working men entirely to the establishment of coffee-houses, because a few years ago it used to be almost a matter of ridicule amongst working men to drink coffee ; now they are held up to emulate each other. I believe that not one-third of my customers ever goes into a public-house at all. I have never heard an indecent expression, and, with two exceptions, have never seen a drunken man in my house."

In some of these coffee-houses chops are cooked, and cold meat and ham may be had at a moderate charge, but not any intoxicating drink is to be bought.

The improvement visible in the habits of the working people of England, as respects intoxication, is accompanied, as might be expected, by an abatement of coarseness in their general deportment, and by a weaning from some of the pursuits which, having been part of the favourite pastimes of their and our immediate predecessors, are now looked upon as evidences of a brutal temper. The practice of prize-fighting, if it have not ceased, is certainly most importantly diminished in fre-

quency. A great many years have not elapsed since in every newspaper was to be seen a circumstantial account of those gladiatorial displays, with all their disgusting details, and now there is not a respectable daily or weekly journal that will prostitute its columns by the insertion. This in itself is a proof of altered manners on the part of readers, *i. e.*, of society at large; but the evidence of this fact is strikingly illustrated by the following paragraph, which appeared on the 28th of February, 1838, in the 'Morning Advertiser,' a very well-conducted and respectable London journal, which circulates principally among publicans, and is in fact the property of a part of that body.

"We beg to deny the truth of a paragraph inserted in 'Bell's Life in London' on Sunday last, to the effect that a deposit of 2*l.* a side is to be made at Harry England's, Old Kent-road, on Thursday next, for a match between Delhunt and Mortlock. The paragraph is an utter fabrication. Mr. England is a most respectable man, and the false charge, implicating him in so disreputable a transaction without his sanction, is an injury as well as a scandalous piece of impertinence. It is monstrous that the feelings of honourable men are to be hurt by such unwarrantable statements."

We here see the landlord of a public-house indignantly denying not only any participation in, but any countenance of, an act as disreputable, which only a few years before would have been openly abetted, not by publicans only but by men of the highest rank and station in the kingdom.

It is in itself a proof, of no slight significance, as to the general refinement of manners, that in a work of this nature there would be found an impropriety in describing scenes that were of every-day occurrence formerly, and

without which description it is yet impossible adequately to measure the advance that has been made. Enough has been said, however, to bear out the assertion, that as regards personal morals there is at least a greater amount of decency than formerly—that profligacy does not stalk abroad in the face of day as shamelessly as it was wont to do, and that brutality has in a very great degree ceased to obtain the countenance of the educated classes. There is, it is true, much yet to be done in this direction, while in the higher branches of morals we have almost everything to learn. With the self-denying doctrines of Christianity upon our lips, we present a practical denial of them in our lives, which are given up in a greater degree than ever to self-aggrandizement, in the pursuit of which we have seemingly lost all proper appreciation of our duties as citizens, until patriotism has become a bye-word and a scoff, and national honour a thing of small account!

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION.

Neglect of Public Provision for Education in England—Consequent Social Evils—Duty of Government to provide for instructing the People; enforced by Exertions of Individuals—Remedy for Inconveniences of increasing Population—Absence of Crime in well-instructed Communities of Nova Scotia and Iceland—Joseph Lancaster, his early Difficulties and subsequent Success—His Exertions and Sacrifices—Committee of Council for Education—Opposition to the Scheme in both Houses of Parliament—Number of Children without Instruction—Recent Progress of Public Opinion on the Subject of National Education—Educational Statistics—Imperfect manner in which the Instruction of the Poor has been conducted—Statistical Societies of Manchester and London—Normal School at Battersea—Proportion of Marriage Registers signed with Crosses in different parts of England and Wales—Education in Scotland, 1825 and 1837—National Schools of Ireland established in 1831—Nature of Opposition offered to the System—Former Plans; their Insufficiency—Charter Schools—Kildare Street Society—Children taught in National Schools of Ireland, 1834 to 1841—Social Benefits of the System to Ireland.

(THIS United Kingdom, which boasts itself to be at the head of civilization, has been among the last of European nations to make any public provision for the instruction of the people.) This neglect is all the more extraordinary from the fact, that of all civilized countries this is the one in which ignorance on the part of the people brings with it the greatest amount of danger. From their number, and the manner in which they are brought together in our large manufacturing and trading towns, the labouring classes have become a most important power for good or for evil, and exercise, without its being ac-

knowledge, a very powerful influence over the deliberations of the senate and the acts of the government. Their situation is besides widely different from that of the labouring classes in every other country, where the great majority depend upon agricultural labour for their support, and are but little liable under any circumstances to be thrown out of employment. In England, on the contrary, as already shown,* the great and rapid increase in the population is all of it thrown for the means of earning subsistence upon pursuits other than agricultural. A change of fashion, or—what is to the full as likely to occur where the legislature takes upon itself to interfere on all occasions by “protections” and restrictions with the course of industry—a change of policy, may in a moment, and without warning, throw tens of thousands out of employment, while, as we have lately witnessed, a succession of deficient harvests is sure to bring upon the whole class the severest privations.

How necessary then it is that these masses, so greatly, so increasingly influential, should not be suffered to remain in ignorance of their true interests. They are not fools that they cannot be led to see wherein those true interests lie, and to admit that they consist in upholding the laws and respecting the institutions of their country. Neither are they knaves, who, to secure a passing advantage, would wantonly invade the rights of their richer fellow-citizens. But they are ignorant; and in this condition all manner of fallacies may be made to pass with them for truth. To what but to ignorance are we to ascribe the hostility of our operative manufacturers to machinery, and their lawless crusades against it? How, unless means for teaching them are adopted, can they be expected to see the ultimate conse-

* Vol. i. p. 51.

quences to them of a machine the introduction of which into use has the present effect of throwing some among them out of their accustomed employment?

The great bulk of the people, they whose sole dependence for their daily bread must be upon their daily toil, are most of all interested in the maintenance of order, under which alone they can have any assurance of demand for their labour. This truth, which they should be taught to recognize, does not lie upon the surface; and the unlearned may well be excused for not embracing it when they see men who have had the advantages of instruction denied to themselves, advocating doctrines irreconcilable with it. It is a fact, recognized by all who have investigated the subject, and demonstrable to all, that the introduction of machinery for simplifying manufacturing processes has had the effect not alone of increasing the comforts of the great body—the consumers—but also of multiplying manifold the demand for labour even in the particular branches to which the machinery is applied; and yet how common is it to hear men of educated minds, but who have not allowed themselves to consider this class of facts, inveighing against the introduction of a new machine as an interference with the rights of labour. From such a doctrine, as well as from others equally false and equally pernicious, there are no means of preserving the people but by educating them.

It is evident that the kind of knowledge which will preserve from such fallacies will not be the result of instruction in the mere elements of learning; and this is rendered equally clear by the fact, that men whose education has been carried far beyond the elementary degree have failed to acquire right views concerning points which the general safety requires should meet the

practical assent of all ; but this presents no difficulty. The educated man fails to recognize the truth because he is but partially educated, and has been left in ignorance with regard to that branch of knowledge which the working men, if educated at all, would be sure to make their own, since it intimately concerns their daily comforts, and is essential to the welfare of their families. That they would do so we have the evidence of experience to teach us ; for have not all their strikes and risings had for their object the attainment of something which in their unenlightened reasoning they have conceived to be their right—mistakenly, no doubt—but proving thereby how deep is the interest they would feel in securing the general welfare, from the moment they should come to know how completely their own true interests are involved in it ?

It would appear to be the duty of every government to see that its subjects are taught their duties as men and as citizens, and thus to provide for the security of all. Lessons to this end have indeed been taught by the government of England, but to whom have they been imparted, and by what agency have they been enforced ? To be adopted as a scholar, a man must—at least up to a comparatively recent period—have qualified himself to appear as a criminal at the bar of justice, and his chief schoolmaster would have been—the hangman ! If one tithe of the expense that has been incurred to so little purpose during the present century in punishing criminals had been employed for preventing crime by means of education, what a different country would England have been to that which our criminal records show it to have been !

Thank Heaven ! this truth at length is making its way to the convictions of our rulers. The principle is recognized that the people must be instructed. There is no

longer any party found to question this principle, or to oppose its practical application. Differences there are and will be as to the best mode of carrying it out, but those differences of opinion are not allowed to stay the progress of education, which will, which must go forward, and perhaps the more rapidly by reason of the discussions that arise out of those very differences.

We are as yet, however, only in the infancy of this right course. That we have entered upon it, is due to the zealous and enlightened exertions of men who toiled amidst difficulties that seemed to multiply as they proceeded, but who rose from their successive defeats with a determination to succeed against which no opposition could always prevail. In these struggles to advance the best interests of our fellow-creatures, circumstances are sometimes witnessed which compensate for past defeats and offer encouragement to future philanthropists. One of these encouragements is known to have well repaid the long-continued and long-frustrated efforts for the recognition by parliament of the duty of providing for the instruction of the people, made by the amiable and accomplished member for Waterford. No man had laboured more zealously, more intelligently, more benevolently, but, to all appearance, more hopelessly, to this end than Mr. Wyse. It was with difficulty even that once during each succeeding session of parliament he could procure the attendance of a sufficient number of members to make "a house" for the discussion; but at length his efforts were crowned with success, and it was among his earliest official acts, after taking his seat at the Treasury Board, to affix his signature to the warrant for 30,000*l.* which had been wrung from the House of Commons as the commencement of a scheme—imperfect and inadequate, it is true, to the occasion—for a national system of education.

The circumstance that has been cited of the rapid multiplication of our numbers in the working class, whose only theatres for employment must be the seats of manufactures, where they are consequently drawn together in masses, has excited alarm of no ordinary kind, not among the unthinking only, but on the part of individuals also to whom we have been accustomed to look for instruction in matters relating to the well-ordering and progress of society. Whence does this alarm proceed; on what is it founded, but on the ignorance of those on whose account it arises? It is felt and acknowledged as an impossibility to meet the difficulty by means of any direct legislative interference. To impose any restraints upon industry which should check the continued progress of the population, would be to insure the immediate occurrence of the very mischief that is dreaded. The true path of safety will be found in educating the people—in teaching them to discriminate between evils referrible to the imperfection of human institutions, and therefore remediable, and such as arise in the order of Providence. “Demagogues, and the workshop agitators so frequently met with in the manufacturing districts,” and who now “never fail to take advantage of the excitement produced by the occurrence of distress to instil their poisonous nostrums into the public mind, to vilify the institutions of the country, and to represent the privations of the work-people, which in the vast majority of cases spring from accidental and uncontrollable causes, as the necessary consequences of a defective system of domestic economy, having regard alone to the interests of the higher classes” *—such mischief-makers would no longer exist, for they

* ‘Principles of Political Economy,’ by J. R. M‘Culloch, Esq., edition, 1843.

would find no dupes upon whom to practise. Under the condition of general enlightenment here supposed, the fallacies which have been so long allowed to fetter the industry of the nation would disappear like snow before the sun; and if evils should then arise to disturb the general prosperity, the last thing that would enter into the minds of the sufferers would be to proceed to measures of violence, the only issue of which they would then know must be to increase in degree and to prolong in duration the amount of their trials and privations.

Whence arises this fear—this childish fear—of the increase of our numbers?—childish, because it exists without regard to the lessons of experience. What evidence is there in our present condition to justify the complaint of “surplus population” that did not exist in as great or even in a greater degree of force when our numbers had not reached one-half their present amount? Why, then, shall we not go forward to double, and again to double, our population in safety and even to advantage, if, instead of rearing millions of human *clods* whose lives are passed in consuming the scanty supplies which is all that their lack of intelligence enables them to produce, the universal people shall have their minds cultivated to the degree that will enable each to add his proportion to the general store?

The progress of our population in Great Britain has gone forward with a continually accelerated speed.—

Between 1801 and 1811 the increase was	1,492,255
“ 1811 and 1821	“ 2,108,028
“ 1821 and 1831	“ 2,189,970
“ 1831 and 1841	“ 2,278,391

Of these 8,068,634 additional beings, the proportionate numbers in the different periods were—

1801 to 1811	18·50 per cent.
1811 to 1821	26·12 „
1821 to 1831	27·14 „
1831 to 1841	28·24 „
	<hr/>
	100·00

If the complaint of “surplus population” had any foundation, would it not have been in the later years of this series that the evils of such a condition would chiefly have made themselves apparent?—and yet we may triumphantly point to the evidences that have attended our researches, as recorded in these volumes, to show that the material progress of the country has never before proceeded with a speed equal to that which it has made during the past twenty years. The plain common sense of our forefathers led them to consider every increase of their numbers as an addition made to the power and wealth of the country; and it is in all probability our artificial system of so-called protections, which has tended in some degree to paralyze our ingenuity and to fetter our industry, that in modern times has suggested the contrary belief.

Under the circumstances that have attended our course during the present century, the increase of population among the instructed classes has certainly gone forward in at least as great a proportion as the increase among the other classes; yet, except in rare instances, referrible to want of individual prudence, we do not see that any fall back into the ranks of pauperism, while, on the other hand, thousands have advanced in worldly rank, themselves or their immediate descendants occupying in many cases the very highest stations in the land. What is it but education that has imparted to them this power of sustaining themselves and their families in the struggle amid so many competitors? It

is true we hear a constant cry about the difficulty of obtaining suitable employments on the part of educated youths; but the same cry has been raised during each one of the past forty years, if even the complaint be not of much older origin, and it is not more true now than it was when it first arose. If, then, the educated among us have found room for their exertions without sinking in the social scale, it must have been through their having created employments for themselves, and in a considerable degree for others also, by means of their superior intelligence; and when the great body of the people shall be placed in the same favourable circumstances, why should not the individual members of the community at large be as successful each in providing for his own wants in the station which he occupies? -and if this be reasonable with reference to our present numbers, why should it be otherwise although these numbers were doubled? The only obstacle that could arise would be found in the absolute insufficiency of food for the sustenance of the greater number, the perfect remedy for which difficulty lies within our power.

The view here offered of the social benefits to be derived by the nation at large from the general spread of intelligence is no new doctrine. It was well said by the Bishop of Chester (Dr. Sumner), in his 'Records of the Creation,'—"Of all obstacles to improvement, ignorance is the most formidable, because the only true secret of assisting the poor is to make them agents in bettering their own condition, and to supply them, not with a temporary stimulus but with a permanent energy. As fast as the standard of intelligence is raised, the poor become more and more able to co-operate in any plan proposed for their advantage, and more likely to listen to any reasonable suggestion, and more able to understand, and therefore more willing to pursue it. Hence

it follows, that when gross ignorance is once removed, and right principles are introduced, a great advantage has been already gained against squalid poverty. Many avenues to an improved condition are opened to one whose faculties are enlarged and exercised; he sees his own interest more clearly, he pursues it more steadily, and he does not study immediate gratification at the expense of bitter and late repentance, or mortgage the labour of his future life without an adequate return. Indigence, therefore, will rarely be found in company with good education.” *

It may be said that these views, however reasonable they may appear, are still only speculations, formed in the closet, and wanting the sanction of experience to stamp them with authority. Happily we are not without this sanction also. The early settlers of the province of Nova Scotia were so fully impressed with the necessity of imparting instruction to the people, that ample provision was made by them, and has been continued by their descendants to the present day, for the support of schools, so that not a child is brought up in the province without receiving a considerable amount of instruction combined with moral training. The result has been most gratifying. When conversing with a gentleman from Halifax, a barrister and member of the provincial parliament, and a most intelligent man,† concerning the condition in various respects of the Nova Scotian population, a question was put to him on the state of crime within the province, to which he gave this striking answer,—“Crime! we have no crime.” When urged to explain how far this reply was to be received in a literal sense, he added,—“I do not mean that people never quarrel in Nova Scotia; brawls do sometimes

* Fourth edition, vol. ii. page 338.

† Mr. G. R. Young.

occur, although not very frequently; but as to crime, understanding by the term offences for which men are brought to the bar of justice in England, I repeat that it does not exist." The cause of this truly enviable state of society was made apparent when he described the means employed for imparting universal education, and added, as a consequence of the high degree of intelligence thereby developed, that every person could find employment and could support himself and his family upon the fruits of his industry.

Nor do these facts rest upon individual or private testimony only. The return made to the Colonial Office in London of the condition in various respects of the province in the year 1841, the latest yet accessible, has been examined and fully bears out the above description. In that portion of the volume (known officially as "the blue book") in which forms are given for returns under the head of gaols and prisoners, all that appears is the following note:—"No account is kept under the heads of this return, which are wholly inapplicable to the gaols in Nova Scotia, where crimes are of rare occurrence and imprisonment for debt is infrequent. There is at least one gaol in each county, under the jurisdiction of the superior court, superintended by the high sheriff or his gaoler, but there are not any officers of prisons appointed."

The population of Nova Scotia, according to a census taken in 1838, amounted to 178,237 souls. There were in 1841, in public schools, chiefly in Halifax, 1902 scholars; in colleges 138; but in addition to these there were "more than 600 common schools, and thirty combined common and grammar schools, at which upwards of 20,000 children were instructed. These schools are supported partly by grants of the legislature and

partly by the subscriptions of the inhabitants. The total amount contributed by the province in 1841 in promoting education exceeded 6000*l*." The revenues of the province in that year amounted to 93,882*l*. 18*s*. 2*d*.

If the contribution of the imperial parliament for the promotion of education in Great Britain were on the same scale of liberality as that adopted in Nova Scotia, taken with reference to population, the yearly vote would amount to 624,000*l*.; but if made proportionally to the revenues of the two communities it would amount to more than five times that sum, and even then would not absorb one-half of the revenue derived in Great Britain from the consumption of ardent spirits.

In a work of great authority, published several years ago, we find the following passage, corroborative of the facts and their consequences here brought forward. "It is a matter of doubt whether more general and useful knowledge among all grades of the population can be discovered in any country than will be found to prevail in this province (Nova Scotia). Many of those born and educated in it have distinguished themselves not only at home but in different parts of the world, and the natives generally possess a ready power of apprehension, a remarkably distinct knowledge of the general affairs of life, and the talent of adapting themselves to the circumstances of such situations as chance, direction, or necessity may place them in."*

In the island of Iceland there is no such thing to be found as a man or woman—not decidedly deficient in mental capacity—who cannot read and write well, while the greater part of all classes of the inhabitants have

* 'British America,' by John M'Gregor, Esq. Vol. i. page 405. Second edition.

mastered several of the higher branches of education, including a knowledge of modern languages and an acquaintance with classical literature.

Placed on the verge of the arctic circle, the Icelanders are subjected to the hardships of a long and rigorous winter, during which there are but few hours of the day in which it is possible for them to pursue out-door occupations. These apparently unfavourable circumstances they have with the highest degree of wisdom rendered productive of the choicest of human blessings—the enlightenment of their minds and the raising of their moral characters. Some part of the long evening is employed in teaching the children of the family; and so universal is this practice that in the whole island there is but one school, which is exclusively used for the highest branches of professional education. After this part of the family duty has been performed, the whole household is assembled—servants and all—and some book is read aloud, each person present taking his turn in reading. After this there usually follows a discussion relating to what has been read, and in which all unreservedly join; and the evening is not suffered to close without engaging in religious exercises.

Every account of these people that has been published agrees in describing them as gentle and peaceable in their dispositions, sober, moral, and religious in their habits. Crimes among them are hardly known. The house of correction at Reickiavich, the capital of the island, after having stood empty for years, was at length converted into a residence for the governor, by whom it has since been occupied. The island is subject to the penal code of Denmark, which awards the penalty of death to murder and some other heinous offences. It is said that only three or four capital convictions have occurred

during the last two centuries ; the last of these happened some years before the visit of Sir G. Mackenzie and Dr. Holland in 1810 ; it was of a peasant for the murder of his wife, and on that occasion it was not possible to find any one on the island who could be induced to perform the office of executioner, so that it became necessary to send the man to Norway that the sentence might be carried into effect. It is worthy of remark, that from the first settlement of the island by a Norwegian colony in the ninth century, to the acknowledgment of the King of Norway, and during the six centuries which have since elapsed, no armed force has ever been raised on or introduced into the island.

It would be difficult to conceive, if we had not the facts before us, that any nation calling itself civilized, and boasting itself to walk in the light of Christianity, could have so totally neglected the all-important subject of education, as did the rulers of England up to the beginning of the present century. There was then no provision for school-teaching besides that afforded by parochial charity-schools, in which the little that was taught had nothing in it that was useful, and the then recent institution of Sunday-schools, which chiefly owed their existence to Mr. Raikes of Gloucester, and in which the instruction given was necessarily confined in its scope and limited in its amount. Besides, even the Sunday-school system was then far from being generally adopted.

It was in 1798 that Joseph Lancaster began his scheme of active benevolence upon a very humble plan, and with very limited means. To use his own words,—“ The undertaking was begun under the hospitable roof of an affectionate parent ; my father gave the school-room rent free, and after fitting up the forms and desks

myself, I had the pleasure, before I was eighteen, of having near ninety children under instruction, many of whom I educated free of expense." The season of scarcity that occurred at this time added to the number of the scholars whose parents were unable to spare the price of their children's schooling; and some of Lancaster's private friends coming to his assistance, the school came more and more to take the character of a free institution, until in 1804 "the school doors were thrown open for all that would send their children and have them educated freely." The economical plans and arrangements adopted in the school brought down the annual expense to three shillings for each scholar. The subscriptions received were devoted to the erection of the necessary buildings, and the remaining expenses, including the simple wants of Joseph Lancaster himself, were defrayed from the profits of his publications, many thousands of which were yearly taken by the public.

Among Joseph Lancaster's earliest patrons were the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville; and in 1805 the King, and several branches of the Royal Family, especially the noble-minded father of our gracious Queen, gave the sanction of their names and the assistance of their subscriptions for carrying his plans more widely into effect. This powerful patronage did not suffice, however, to keep the author of these plans out of pecuniary difficulties; so little at that time did the public feeling respond to the benevolent wishes of the monarch; so indifferent was the public mind to the cause to which this zealous apostle of education had devoted himself. The difficulties against which he had then to struggle are thus simply described by himself in a report drawn up in 1811:—"I was not insensible of the heavy responsibility, yet determined to succeed or sink in the attempt, com-

mitting myself to the protection of the God of friendless youth ; and, anticipating final success, I persevered. Had I not done so, the progress of the work would have been checked for several years, and the time of part of one generation would have passed away, they remaining in ignorance,—perhaps the clouds of mental night enveloping their minds to the end of their lives. The imposition of some tradesmen ; the deceit of a personal friend ; the warm professions and cold support of one professing patron, whose friendship proved to consist only in smiles, but who left me to bear the expense of educating all the children of his poor tenantry ; all heightened the expense and threatened the concern with ruin. At this juncture (1808) I providentially received the zealous support of my friend Joseph Fox, who became attached to me from a powerful conviction of the merit of my system of education. From this time the debts of the institution were put into a state of liquidation, to the great surprise and astonishment of some who were expecting a contrary event.”

The pecuniary embarrassments which had so nearly cut short his career of usefulness arose from the insufficiency of the subscriptions in aid of buildings, and which amounted only to 624*l.*, while the cost of the premises erected exceeded 3500*l.* The yearly subscriptions up to the time here mentioned never exceeded 600*l.*, while the necessary expenses of the school were double that sum. To relieve Mr. Lancaster from pecuniary difficulty, and to enable him still to devote his energies to the furtherance of his plans, five men, imbued with the spirit of philanthropy in no ordinary degree, took upon themselves the office of trustees, and came under advances to the following amounts :—

Mr. Joseph Fox	£1,895
Mr. William Allen . . .	1,232
Mr. Joseph Foster . . .	1,218
Mr. William Corston . .	534
John Jackson, Esq., M.P. .	522
	<hr/>
	£5,401

The following extract from the minutes of the trustees, dated 28th March, 1811, shows the extent to which Mr. Lancaster's exertions had then been successful, and the amount of personal effort and sacrifice by which that success had been attained. No word of commendation is needed to do honour to the man himself, nor to the friends through whose disinterested philanthropy his success was rendered possible.

"The trustees examined the vouchers produced by Joseph Lancaster relative to the expenditure which had taken place prior to the formation of the committee in 1808, and have the satisfaction to find that they are perfectly correct, and most satisfactorily account for the said expenditure; and they find that, during the time that they have had the care of his affairs, he has expended above 1000*l.*, the produce of his lectures, in travelling and preparing for the same; that he has maintained himself during this period by the profits of his publications and printing office; and in having educated above 6000 children free of expense: at the lowest rate of payment the sum of 7500*l.* has been given to the education of the poor."

Many years had elapsed after they thus had taken upon themselves the pecuniary burthens of the undertaking before the contributions of the public relieved the trustees from the load, themselves being among the most liberal contributors; but all dread of failure through insufficiency of means was at once dissipated by their

management, under which the British and Foreign School Society has been the chief means to which is owing all that has since been done towards the education of the poorer classes of England.

It is not intended, by this statement, to give any opinion as to the value of the particular method of instruction adopted by Mr. Lancaster, nor to enter upon the question whether he or the late Dr. Bell is entitled to the merit of having been its inventor, but simply to narrate the steps whereby the public mind in this country has been directed in this all-important matter ; steps which, without question or controversy, have resulted from the self-sacrifices of a man of humble birth, without fortune or powerful connexions, and whose sole reliance for success was, for years, his own indomitable spirit.

It is only by comparing the actual condition of England upon this subject with the deplorable state of darkness in which it was when Joseph Lancaster began his labours, that we can contemplate the progress hitherto made with any degree of satisfaction. Only a very few years have passed since every effort that could be made by those who were themselves awakened to the necessity of establishing a system of national education appeared to be hopelessly employed. It was so recently as February, 1839, that the government first adopted the subject of education as one of the objects that called for its interference, and constituted a Board of Education, consisting of five privy councillors, over whom the president of the council was to preside. To this board was confided the distribution of such a sum as should be voted by parliament for the promotion of education, and it was especially charged with the formation of normal schools. The sum proposed to be put at the disposal of this board in that year was 30,000*l.*, and in the month of June a

motion to that effect was brought forward and carried, after a debate of three days, by a majority of 275 to 273, the latter number having voted in favour of an address to the Queen, by way of "amendment," praying Her Majesty to revoke the Order in Council by which the Board of Education had been appointed. On the fifth of the following month a similar hostile address was moved by a learned prelate in the House of Lords, and carried by a majority of 229 to 118 against the government, which had the firmness, nevertheless, to persist in its plan.

That the objections then taken to this moderate scheme of the government have since been found chimerical, we have the best possible proof in the fact that it has been cordially adopted by the successors of that government, and that every vestige of opposition to it has disappeared.

It was shown by returns obtained from the workhouses of 478 unions, that at midsummer, 1838, they contained 42,767 children under 16 years of age; and if this is a true proportion for the whole country, there must have been at that time in the 600 unions into which England and Wales are to be divided 53,662 pauper children. Under the old system of neglect, those children would have grown up without having been impressed with any idea of moral responsibility, and without being provided with means much beyond those possessed by the brute creation for procuring an honest livelihood. Should it then occasion surprise that the ranks of crime have, in years past, received so many recruits, and have we any right to complain of this consequence of our own neglect?

The government plans are still too recent, and, it must be added, too imperfect, to exhibit any very striking result; but with a knowledge of the enlightened zeal which is allowed to carry out the intentions of the legis-

lature, it is not too much to hope that enough of good will soon be made apparent to show the desirableness of extending those plans, so that we shall soon cease to be the lowest among the Protestant kingdoms of Europe as respects the performance of our duty in promoting the education of the people.

It is but too probable, that, in even the little it has done, the government has placed itself, where indeed it should mostly be found, in advance of the general opinion. In a report made to the Poor Law Commissioners by Mr. Edward Twisleton, one of their assistant commissioners, bearing the recent date of April, 1840, the following passage occurs:—"It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact, that a certain portion of the upper and middle classes harbour a rooted distrust of any plan for the education of the poor. In discharge of my ordinary duties I have often had an opportunity of seeing this feeling manifested in an undisguised form. In the rural unions of this district (Norfolk), it fortunately happens that religious dissensions are almost unknown, and religious scruples have only, on very rare occasions, been the cause or the pretext for throwing impediments in the way of education. Hence the chaplains in the majority of the unions give their valuable assistance in the improvement of the schools,—a fact which I take the greater pleasure in acknowledging, inasmuch as, in some unions, they have almost supplied the place of a good schoolmaster; and it has only been in two instances that the slightest opposition has been experienced from that quarter. But amongst many small farmers, and some of the gentry, unwillingness to educate the poor is openly defended by argument; and a merchant of a seaport town gravely assured me, not long ago, that an agricultural

labourer was very little above a brute, and that to educate him would merely have the effect of rendering him dissatisfied with his situation of life."

The feeling thus described is fast giving place to more enlightened and benevolent views. The evils anticipated from the instruction of the poor have not been experienced. It is seen that the mind can be cultivated without developing the disposition to mischief, or engendering any irrational feelings of dissatisfaction with their lot; while, on the contrary, instruction, when accompanied with moral training, is felt to exercise a powerful influence in restraining from evil. When Lancaster began his labours, it was a common remark, that if he succeeded in his object, we might seek in vain for servants who would clean our shoes, or attend upon our horses. This irrational opinion, which was founded on the presumption that men performed their duties better for being kept in ignorance regarding them, is but seldom heard, now that we have proofs of the greater willingness which an instructed person brings to the performance of his labour, and of the greater ability with which he is enabled to acquit himself.

We have not any accurate statements of the amount and progress of education in this country. An attempt was made in 1833, by the late lamented Earl of Kerry, to supply this deficiency, but the result of the inquiry then made was very unsatisfactory, so that it has been looked upon as a failure. In one respect, however, the returns then made have been productive of good, since by their very incompleteness they have stimulated private parties to prosecute inquiries in that direction, and have thus drawn public attention to the subject in a greater degree than might otherwise have been experienced. It was the feeling that justice was not done in those returns to efforts

made by the friends of education among the manufacturers of Lancashire, that incited the Statistical Society of Manchester to set on foot the extensive series of inquiries which, with their results, they subsequently gave to the public;* and it was mainly owing to the publication of these results that the Statistical Society of London undertook similar investigations in various parts of the metropolis. The reports of those societies have had an acknowledged and a powerful influence on the deliberations of parliament, by laying bare the moral deformity of the land, and pointing out a remedy.

Having thus expressed a warning against receiving these parliamentary returns as accurate records, we are forced to use them as the only data extant on the subject having reference to former years.

It appeared from returns thus made to the House of Commons, pursuant to the address to the Crown, moved by Lord Kerry, in May, 1833, showing the number and description of schools, and the number of scholars at that time taught therein, in each town, parish, chapelry, or extra-parochial place in England and Wales, and indicating the increase that had occurred since 1818, that in the last-named year there were in England and Wales 19,326 infant and daily schools with 605,704 scholars, and 5543 Sunday-schools with 425,493 scholars. If these latter were in every case distinct from and additional to the scholars in infant and daily schools, the

* The omissions in the parliamentary returns, as stated in the reports of the Statistical Society of Manchester, were:—

In the three townships of Manchester, Chorlton, and Hulme	Scholars. 10,347
In the borough of Bury	861
In the borough of Liverpool	15,500

or about one-third of the numbers ascertained by the society.

whole number receiving instruction in schools of all kinds in England and Wales in 1818 was 1,031,197. The population of that part of the kingdom was then (by computation) 11,846,057, and the ascertained proportion living between five and fifteen years old amounted to 2,843,053. If, making no allowance for the duplicate entries of scholars in Sunday and daily schools, nor for the children in infant schools under five years of age, we assume that their numbers conjointly would be equal to those of young persons receiving instruction under the paternal roof, it would appear that nine-fourteenths of the children in England and Wales were, in 1818, without any means of instruction. The returns for 1833 were less unfavourable. The number of children then given, as being under daily instruction, was 1,276,947; and the scholars in Sunday schools are stated to have been 1,548,890—together, 2,825,837. In that year (1833) the number of persons between five and fifteen years old was 3,432,023, so that the proportion then left wholly uninstructed was not quite one-third of what it had been in 1818. But it is known that in 1833 duplicate entries were made of Sunday scholars, who also attended day-schools, to the amount of 152,195 children, and there is reason to believe that the number actually twice reckoned was much greater than was ascertained; besides which, the proportionate number of infant schools, and therefore of scholars under five years of age, was much greater in 1833 than it had been fifteen years before, which facts must be taken in diminution of the improvement indicated by the returns.

It must be evident that when we shall have procured a correct statement of the number of schools, and of children attending them, we shall possess only a part of the information necessary to determine the condition or

progress of the people in regard to their education. The reports of the Statistical Societies of Manchester and London have shown how unworthy of the name of education is the result of what is attempted in the majority of schools frequented by children of the working classes, and which are frequently kept by persons "whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other."

A lamentable proof of the correctness of this remark is offered in the following extract from the report for 1839, of the chaplain of the juvenile prison at Parkhurst. "One point has forcibly struck my attention, and that is, the comparatively large amount of acquirement in the mechanical elements of instruction (the art of reading and repetition from memory) contrasted with the lamentably *small* degree of actual knowledge possessed, either of moral duty or religious principle. This appears mainly to have arisen from the meaning of the words read or sounds repeated having rarely been made the subjects of inquiry or reflection. The following digest will in some degree illustrate this position. Your Lordship will perceive that, although fifty-eight prisoners can in some degree read, eighty-three repeat some or all of the church catechism, and forty-three possess some knowledge of Holy Scripture, only twenty-nine (exactly half the number of readers) can give even *a little* account of the meaning of words read, or sounds in use; and of these it appears very often to be the strength of the intellect exercised *at the moment*, and not the result of *prior* reflection, that leads them to the meaning of a word.

"Another feature of the moral condition of the Parkhurst prisoners cannot but arrest the attention strongly, and that is, the very large proportion that have received

instruction for a considerable period of time in the various schools with which our country abounds. A digest of this portion of the general table will show, that out of 102 lads, 94 have attended schools; 69 of whom have been *day* scholars for terms longer than a year, eight only having never been at school.

" Read tolerably	20	
Read indifferently	38	
	—	58
Read scarcely at all	14	
Read not at all	30	
	—	
Total	102	
Of those there attended school from 8 to 12 years	2	
" " " 5 to 8 "	5	
" " " 3 to 5 "	21	
" " " 1 to 3 "	44	
" " under 1 year "	22	
Never at school	8	
	—	
Total	102.	

This result will not in any degree surprise those persons who have examined the reports of the Statistical Societies of London and Manchester, and who have thus become acquainted with the insufficient acquirements of a large proportion of persons who take upon themselves the task of instruction.

The greatest want, now that the public mind is in a measure aroused to exertion in this direction, is felt to be that of qualified persons as teachers. This is a want which it must be the work of years effectually to supply, if even the establishing of normal schools were already accomplished upon an adequate foundation. Imperfect as our machinery for education now is in this essential particular, we cannot reasonably hope to derive from the formation of schools the same amount of advantage as

would be experienced if a sufficient number of qualified teachers were in existence, and hence some over-sanguine friends of education may encounter disappointment. "As is the teacher, so is the school." is an axiom fully recognized in countries where the want of which we have now to complain has been made to disappear through a more timely attention on the part of their governments to this essential requisite. The efforts of the Committee of Managers of the British and Foreign School Society have long been directed to this object, and institutions for training teachers, both male and female, are now also in active operation under the managers of the National Society. Grants of money for this purpose have been made by parliament to both these institutions; but the utmost that they can effect will bear only a very insufficient proportion to the wants of the country. A model school, established through the joint exertions, and chiefly at the expense of, Mr. Kay Shuttleworth and Mr. E. C. Tunnell, at Battersea, will form a powerful aid by means of the plans that will be tested under the inspection of those gentlemen, and which, as far as they shall prove successful, will thence secure adoption in other institutions.

Upon the whole, if the progress made towards the systematic education of the entire people be not so great as is desirable, we must acknowledge it to be as much as could reasonably be looked for in the short time that has elapsed since the subject has been taken under the charge of the government, while it is such as justifies the most sanguine hopes for the future.

A plan has been adopted by the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales, whereby the marriage registers are made available as a test of the proportion of the people to whom instruction has been imparted, so far, at least, as the ability to write

affords such a test. In the years ending 30th June, 1839, 1840, and 1841, returns have been made of the number of persons who, from the want of this degree of instruction, have affixed marks instead of signatures to the registers. In the report made by Mr. Lister in 1840, he draws attention to this plan by the following remarks:—

“Almost every marriage is duly registered, and every register of marriage is signed by the parties married; those who are able writing their names, and those who are unable, or who write very imperfectly, making their marks. Therefore, an enumeration of the instances in which the mark has been made will show the proportion among those married who either cannot write at all, or write very imperfectly.

“It may be said in favour of this criterion, that it is free from the disadvantage of selection, including alike every class and condition, and every age, except children and very old persons. It must at the same time be remembered, that although a fair average is thus afforded, the portion of the whole population exhibited in the yearly returns of marriages is small. It appears that there are usually about seven or eight marriages to every 1000 of the population. If, therefore, it be assumed that persons between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five constitute half the population (which the enumeration of ages in 1821 shows to be very nearly the case), it will follow that of those who may be considered the marriageable portion of the community, about thirty in every 1000 (or three per cent.) are married yearly. The portion, therefore, whose signatures appear on the marriage registers of a single year is sufficiently small to be easily affected by accidental circumstances; and it cannot safely be asserted that the thirty in 1000, from whose signatures we would draw an inference respecting the other 970, may not happen

to consist of more than the proportionate number of uneducated persons. It must not, therefore, be hastily assumed, upon the evidence afforded by the returns of a single year, that the inhabitants of any particular county or district are less educated than their neighbours. The experiment must be repeated often, and be attended with similar results, before this inference can be drawn with safety; and it is only when returns of the same description, given for several successive years, shall have exhibited similar facts, that it will be perfectly justifiable to arrive at an unfavourable conclusion with respect to any particular district."

Since these remarks were written to accompany the first returns of the kind, the experience of two other years has been obtained, and the result of the three years, which is as follows, seems, by the uniformity of the proportions, to justify reliance upon this test to a greater degree than was first anticipated. [See Table, p. 279.]

In the whole of England and Wales, among 367,894 couples married during three years, it appears that there were 122,458 men and 181,378 women who either could not write at all, or who had attained so little proficiency in penmanship that they were averse to the exposure of their deficiency. The numbers so subscribing the marriage register in each year were,—

Year ending 30th June.	Number of Marriages.	Persons affixing Marks.	
		Men.	Women.
1839	121,088	40,587	55,959
1840	124,320	41,512	62,523
1841	122,482	40,059	59,896
	<hr/> 367,894	<hr/> 122,458	<hr/> 181,378

During the above three years, the ages were ascer-

Proportion per Cent who signed with Marks.								
Year ending June 30, 1839.			Year ending June 30, 1840.			Year ending June 30, 1841.		
Men.	Women	Mean.	Men.	Women	Mean.	Men.	Women	Mean.
12	24	18	12	25	18	12	24	18
32	40	36	32	41	36	32	40	36
43	53	48	41	54	49	42	53	47
45	52	48	48	54	51	46	52	49
31	47	39	34	43	38	33	47	40
40	54	47	39	54	46	39	53	46
32	50	41	33	51	42	32	50	41
39	63	51	38	66	52	40	65	52
34	49	41	35	59	47	34	58	46
21	43	31	22	43	32	21	42	31
48	70	59	48	69	58	48	69	59
43	49	41	33	50	42	33	49	41

tained of 40,874 persons, or 20,437 couples who were married, as under :—

Ages.				Men.	Women.
15 and under	20 years			537	2,711
20	25	„		10,383	10,424
25	30	„		5,103	3,951
30	35	„		1,900	1,498
35	40	„		944	739
40	45	„		603	532
45	50	„		371	273
50	55	„		271	161
55	60	„		147	69
60	65	„		112	55
65	70	„		41	17
70	75	„		15	5
75	80	„		6	2
80	85	„		4	..
				<hr/> 20,437	<hr/> 20,437

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Men	27·30 years,
Women	25·35 „

so that the test of education applies to the condition, in this respect, of the population generally as it existed about ten to fifteen years ago. By continuing to record the facts in future years, we shall have a tolerable guide of the progress in intellectual acquirement—so far at least as elementary instruction is concerned—in the years that have followed. It must be apparent how much room was afforded for improvement in this essential object.

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The proportion of ignorance exhibited by Monmouthshire and Wales, where 48 in 100 of males, and 69 in 100 of females, were unable to write their names, offers a striking commentary upon the scenes of violence that were committed in that quarter in November, 1839, and which, with their cause—the absence of due means for instruction—formed the subject of a report made to the Committee of Council on Education by Mr. Tremenheere, which was published by that body in the following year. It there appeared that more than two-thirds of the children of the working classes in the district did not attend any school, and that, as regarded the remainder, the means provided for instruction, and its quality, were for the most part little calculated to produce any good result.

Next in the order of ignorance to the district just mentioned stand the great manufacturing counties of Cheshire and Lancaster, in which forty per cent. of males, and sixty-five per cent. of females, were unable to sign

their names. At the time when the individuals to whom this test was applied in the three years comprised in the returns were of an age to profit by instruction, there had been no interference with the subject on the part of the legislature. The measures which have since been adopted may reasonably be expected to remove from those counties, and from others similarly circumstanced, the stigma now affixed to them by the revelations of the Registrar-General.

The statistics of education in Scotland are deserving of greater confidence than those relating to England and Wales, owing probably to the much superior machinery that can be employed for their collection. Every parish in Scotland contains at least one parish school, and there are but few parishes in which further provision has not been made for the instruction of the people. Returns of the number of children educated in these schools have at different times been called for by Parliament, from which the following figures have been taken :—

	1825	1836	1837
	Scholars.	Scholars.	Scholars.
In parochial schools . .	56,232	57,332	61,921
In schools not parochial .	101,495	119,350	128,318
Total . .	<u>157,727</u>	<u>176,682</u>	<u>190,239</u>

The increase in the numbers between 1825 and 1836 was hardly equal to the increased number of persons of ages requiring instruction. The number between five and fifteen years of age, in 1821, was found to be twenty-four per cent. of the whole population, and according to this proportion the numbers between those ages in each of the above years must have been—

In 1825	528,508
1836	599,288
1837	605,620

The proportion receiving instruction, therefore, was—

In 1825	29·84 per cent.
1836	29·48 „
1837	31·41 „

The increase of scholars in the parochial schools, comparing 1837 with 1825, is not equal to the increased number of children living at the later period, and although, in schools established by private persons, the proportion was more favourable than in 1825, it was still far below the requirements of the population, leaving 415,381 children, or 68·59 per cent. of the whole unprovided with education, from which number must, however, be deducted children who receive instruction under their parents' roof.

The following particulars, taken from the parliamentary returns, explain the nature of the instruction imparted in the Scottish schools. The attention long bestowed upon the subject of education in that part of the kingdom will sufficiently account for the advantageous position which the natives of Scotland so generally acquire for themselves when they quit the land of their birth, and further may explain why the burthen of providing for the maintenance of the poor has been there so inconsiderable when compared with the like burthen in England.

	Parochial Schools.	Non- Parochial Schools.
Number of schools which returned answers .	924	2,329
Number of schools which did not return answers	129	1,025
Number in which the scholars are periodically examined	917	2,015
Number of teachers	1,054	2,940
Number of teachers having other occupation .	286	214
Number of schools in which are taught—		
English	924	2,280
Gaelic	12	239
Greek	446	191

to consist of more than the proportionate number of uneducated persons. It must not, therefore, be hastily assumed, upon the evidence afforded by the returns of a single year, that the inhabitants of any particular county or district are less educated than their neighbours. The experiment must be repeated often, and be attended with similar results, before this inference can be drawn with safety; and it is only when returns of the same description, given for several successive years, shall have exhibited similar facts, that it will be perfectly justifiable to arrive at an unfavourable conclusion with respect to any particular district."

Since these remarks were written to accompany the first returns of the kind, the experience of two other years has been obtained, and the result of the three years, which is as follows, seems, by the uniformity of the proportions, to justify reliance upon this test to a greater degree than was first anticipated. [See Table, p. 279.]

In the whole of England and Wales, among 367,894 couples married during three years, it appears that there were 122,458 men and 181,378 women who either could not write at all, or who had attained so little proficiency in penmanship that they were averse to the exposure of their deficiency. The numbers so subscribing the marriage register in each year were,—

Year ending 30th June.	Number of Marriages.	Persons affixing Marks.	
		Men.	Women.
1839	121,083	40,587	58,959
1840	124,329	41,812	62,523
1841	122,482	40,059	59,896
	<hr/> 367,894	<hr/> 122,458	<hr/> 181,378

During the above three years, the ages were ascer-

Proportion per Cent who signed with Marks.									
	Year ending June 30, 1839.			Year ending June 30, 1840.			Year ending June 30, 1841.		
	Men.	Women.	Mean.	Men.	Women.	Mean.	Men.	Women.	Mean.
...	12	24	18	12	25	18	12	24	18
...	32	40	36	32	41	36	32	40	36
...	43	53	48	41	54	49	40	53	47
...	46	52	49	48	54	51	46	52	49
...	31	47	39	34	42	38	33	47	40
Western Counties —									
Gloucestershire									
Herefordshire									
Salop									
Worcestershire	40	54	47	39	54	46	39	53	46
Staffordshire									
Warrickshire									
North Midland Counties —									
Leicestershire									
Rutlandshire									
Lincolnshire	32	50	41	33	51	42	32	50	41
Nottinghamshire									
Derbyshire									
North Western Counties —									
Cheshire	39	63	51	38	66	52	40	65	52
Lancashire									
Yorkshire	34	49	41	34	59	47	34	58	46
Northern Counties —									
Durham									
Northumberland									
Cumberland	21	42	31	22	43	32	21	42	31
Westmoreland									
Monmouthshire and Wales	48	70	59	48	69	59	48	69	59
England and Wales	33	49	41	33	50	42	33	49	41

tained of 40,874 persons, or 20,437 couples who were married, as under :—

Ages.				Men.	Women.
15 and under	20 years			537	2,711
20	25	„	„	10,383	10,424
25	30	„	„	5,103	3,951
30	35	„	„	1,900	1,498
35	40	„	„	944	739
40	45	„	„	603	532
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Number of schools in which are taught—		
English	924	2,280
Gaelic	12	239
Greek	445	191

	Parochial Seminaries.	Non- Parochial Seminaries.
Latin	664	501
Modern languages	307	214
Mathematics	689	683
Arithmetic	900	1,519
Geography	761	1,141
History	602	901
Religious instruction	923	2,254
Singing	201	512
Drawing	109	211
Number in which the scholars are taught in classes	923	2,300
Number in which monitors are employed . .	646	1,092
Number in which instruction is afforded in gar- dening, agriculture, or any mechanical opera- tion	36	51

The opposition offered to the government plan of education in England has been of a moderate character when compared with the hostility shown to the Board of National Education in Ireland. It has ever been the bane of that portion of the kingdom that the rancour of party spirit has been made to interfere with every effort made for the improvement of the people.

It was probably owing to the evils arising from the state of society in which this irrational habit was possible—a habit which annihilated every feeling of citizenship, and converted every man into a party bigot—that drew the attention of the government earlier than was done for England to the necessity of providing a plan of education which should bring together in fellowship the members of the two great opposing factions. From its first institution, in 1831, by Lord Stanley, the plan of education for Ireland has by its success in this respect proved itself entitled to be called National. The plans previously sanctioned by successive governments having

ostensibly this object, did not owe their failure to the want of money, which indeed was liberally provided by parliament. To one society, "The incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland," which was founded in 1731, upwards of 1,100,000*l.* were at different times voted, and about 500,000*l.* more was granted in about 50 years for the support of the "Charter Schools," besides other sums of smaller amount devoted during the same years to the like purpose. The effects recently produced in England by sums which, compared with these, are quite insignificant, may serve to show what might have been accomplished in Ireland had the liberality of parliament not been counteracted by the spirit of bigotry and intolerance on the part of those to whom the administration of the funds was intrusted. In their hands the well-understood object of the schools established was not education, but making proselytes; and the result of their management was precisely what might have been foretold.

Nothing could be better than the legal provision made from an early period of our history for educating the youth of Ireland, and nothing could well be worse than the practical result. In the reign of Henry the Eighth a statute was passed, entitled "An Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language," under which the ecclesiastical authorities were directed to administer an oath to every person receiving spiritual promotion, "That he would teach the English tongue to all in his cure; that he would bid the beads in the English tongue; and further, that he would keep, or cause to be kept, within the place, territory, or parish, where he should have any rule, benefice, or promotion, a school to learn English, if any of the children of the parish should come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such

convenient stipend or salary as in the said land was accustomally used to be taken." This statute was confirmed by the 7th Act of Will. III., and is still unrepealed; and every clergyman, on his induction to a living in Ireland, is required by law to take an oath in the following terms:—"I do solemnly swear that I will teach, or cause to be taught, an English school within the vicarage (or rectory) of _____ as the law in that case requires." The performance of the duty thus solemnly undertaken, it has been the universal custom of the incumbents of parishes to confine within the payment of forty shillings per annum as a salary to a schoolmaster, which act, if it be held to discharge the legal obligation—which is very doubtful—can hardly be thought a fulfilment of the moral duty imposed on them by the statute and confirmed by their own oaths.

By the Act 7 Will. III., it was made penal to receive any other than a Protestant education, and it was enacted that no person of the Romish religion should publicly teach a school under a penalty of 20*l.* and three months' imprisonment. Where schools were kept, the richer papists would not send their children to them, and the charge made was so high that the poorer people could not do so.

The "Incorporated Society," already mentioned, was founded expressly to perform the work of proselytism, for which purpose the managers found it necessary to cut off all intercourse between the pupils and their parents, by confining them within the walls of the schools during the whole period of their education. The expense attending these schools was accordingly great, while the repugnance of the parents to the breaking up of the natural ties between themselves and their children was so strong that, *except in years of scarcity*, the num-

bers which the schools were able and willing to receive were never kept up, and although, in addition to the munificent grants of parliament, private benevolence was greatly exercised in their behalf, the society was at no time able to instruct so many as 2000 scholars. In 1784 John Howard, in addition to his inquiries concerning prisons, applied himself to examine the state of the charter schools of Ireland, his account of which induced the Irish House of Commons to appoint a committee for the further investigation of the subject. From the report of this committee it appeared that the schools were out of repair and going to ruin; that the children were "sickly, pale, and such miserable objects that they were a disgrace to all society; that their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for their masters; that they were in general filthy and ill-clothed, without shifts or shirts, and in such a situation as it was indecent to look on; the diet was insufficient for their support; and in general they had the itch, and other eruptive disorders." The public money was thus shown to be expended "for the purpose of imprisoning, starving, beating, diseasing, destroying the natural affections, and letting the understanding run to waste of about 1400 poor children annually under the pretence of instructing and converting the young generation."

The Irish parliament contented itself with thus ascertaining the evils, and continued to vote the public money to the society without making any provision for their prevention; so that at the period of the legislative union the schools continued in the same condition of neglect and disorder, although the yearly expenditure had increased to 20,000*l*. From that time to 1825 the imperial parliament voted for the charter schools of Ireland sums amounting to 675,707*l*. in addition to

other sources of income, and the expenditure during those twenty-five years amounted to 884,739*l.*, for which sum they maintained *on the average* thirty-five schools and 1870 children, so that the yearly cost of each school was 1000*l.*, and of each scholar 18*l.* 18*s.* In 1824, when the attention of a parliamentary commission was directed to the subject, there were found only twenty-four boarding-schools, with about 1700 scholars. In the course of that year 500 infants from the Foundling Hospital, an institution supported by parliamentary grants, were transferred to the charter schools.*

Notwithstanding the extravagant outlay for these charter schools, the advantages derived from them were exceedingly small, if indeed they were productive of any advantage whatever. This remark is fully warranted by the following extract from the First Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning education in Ireland, presented to parliament in 1825.

“ We are convinced that if a thousand children, educated in charter schools, were to be compared with an equal number who had remained in the apparently wretched cabins inhabited by their parents, but who had attended orderly and well-regulated day-schools, it would be found, not only that the latter had passed their years of instruction far more happily to themselves, but that, when arrived at the age of manhood, they would, upon a general average, be in every respect more valuable and better-instructed members of society; they would have improved in knowledge under circumstances which would have strengthened and confirmed their connexion with

* In 30 years, from 1797 to 1826, out of 52,000 children admitted into the Foundling Hospital 41,500 died. The money granted to the institution by parliament during that period amounted to 753,685*l.*

all those to whom they must naturally look for protection and assistance, and would enter upon life with their affections awakened, their principles confirmed, and their character raised by the reliance they would have learned to place in their own exertions, and in the practice they would have acquired of controlling and conducting themselves.

"It is very different in the instance of a boy let loose from a charter school, who has lived in a state of existence entirely artificial. All his wants having been supplied by the care of others, he has become peevish, fretful, and impatient, if not supplied according to rule. His mind is impressed by a feeling of sullenness resulting from a system of severity and terror. His expectations have been unduly raised as to his own future prospects, though the habits of indolence and apathy which have appeared to us peculiarly to characterize these children render them altogether unsuited to the active, patient, persevering exertions which are necessary to their success in life.

"The expenditure of the society during the ninety years it has been in operation has been no less than 1,612,138*l.*, of which the sum of 1,027,715*l.* was derived from parliamentary grants."

In the session of 1814-15 a grant of 6980*l.* Irish currency was made by parliament to "The Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland." This society was formed in 1811, and was at first wholly supported by private subscriptions. When parliamentary assistance was rendered, model schools for male and female children were erected, and the society has since been known, from the name of the site chosen for these buildings, as the Kildare-street Society. Its active ope-

rations began in 1817, and the progress made during nine years to 1825 was as follows :—

Year.	Schools in connexion.	Scholars.
1817	8	557
1818	65	4,527
1819	133	9,263
1820	241	16,786
1821	381	26,474
1822	513	36,657
1823	727	51,637
1824	1,122	79,287
1825	1,395	102,380

In 1831 the number of schools in connexion with this society was 1621, and of scholars 137,639. From this time the numbers began to decrease. Various reasons are assigned for this circumstance. The establishment of national schools under the immediate patronage and direction of the government, and the discontinuance of the parliamentary grants, are among the chief of these reasons ; but to these must be added a growing dislike on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, because of the rule of the society which obliged the children to read the Scriptures without note or comment, and indeed forbade the use of any comment, whether written or oral.

The model-schools in Kildare-place were well conducted, and the schools in connexion with the society were “ convenient, cleanly, and in good order, and the instruction given extremely efficient.” The only bar to their successful extension was offered by the rule which interfered with the discipline considered by the church of Rome as being proper for the religious education of its members.

This difficulty was removed by the establishment of a Board of Commissioners for National Education in

Ireland. The reasons for this establishment, and the principles by which it should be governed, are fully explained in a letter addressed in October 1831 by Lord Stanley, then chief secretary for Ireland, to the Duke of Leinster.

A committee of the House of Commons had recommended in 1828 the adoption of a system "which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevail in Ireland as to render it, in truth, a system of national education for the poorer classes of the community."

In order to afford security to the country that "while the interests of religion should not be overlooked, the most scrupulous care should be taken not to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any description of Christian pupils," it was required "that the schools be kept open on four or five days of the week, at the discretion of the commissioners, for moral and literary education only; and that the remaining one or two days in the week be set apart for giving, separately, such religious education to the children as may be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions. The clergy are also permitted and encouraged to give religious instruction to the children belonging to their respective persuasions, either before or after the ordinary school hours, on the other days of the week."

During the first few years after their appointment, the Commissioners for National Education in Ireland had to combat against a most determined hostility, chiefly on the part of the Protestant clergy. This has happily now in a great measure, if not entirely, ceased, and the number of schools and scholars has been steadily

advancing from year to year. During each of the eight years, 1834 to 1841, the numbers have been as follows :—

Year.	Schools in Operation.	Children on the Rolls.
1834	789	107,042
1835	1,106	145,521
1836	1,181	153,707
1837	1,300	166,929
1838	1,384	169,538
1839	1,581	192,971
1840	1,978	232,560
1841	2,337	281,849

At the date of their last report (June 1842) the commissioners had promised grants to 382 additional schools about to be established for the instruction of about 48,000 more children; and at this time the prospects of Ireland, as far as its progress depends upon the intellectual and religious education of the people, are of a very cheering description.

Is it unreasonable to assign the successful establishment of a system of education which brings together in peaceful fellowship the children of persons of different creeds, as one among the causes which have produced the comparative quietude enjoyed by Ireland during the past few years; and if this desirable end has been promoted in even a greater degree by the habit of sobriety that has so rapidly been spread throughout the island, may we not also in part account for the possibility of this great reformation through the influence of well-conducted schools? No one who has witnessed the effects produced by such establishments in districts where they had not previously existed, needs to be told that their moral effects are not confined to the children by whom the schools are attended, but that an immediate and powerful influence is exercised by them over the parents also.

CHAPTER V.

POSTAGE, ETC.

Legislative Sanction of Mr. Rowland Hill's Plans—Rapid Progress of Public Opinion regarding them—Stationary Condition of Post-office Revenue—Illicit Conveyance of Letters—Number of Letters that passed through the London General and District Post Offices in 1839-40 and 1841, and part of 1842—Estimated Number of Letters posted in the United Kingdom before and after the Reduction of the Rates, and per-centage Increase—Increased Revenue from Post-office in 1842—Progress of Post-office Revenue, 1758 to 1841—Net Revenue, 1801 to 1841—Rates of Postage charged in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1710 to 1840—Effect upon the Net Revenue of successive Alterations of the Rates—Newspapers—Excessive Stamp Duty thereon encouraging unstamped Papers—Reduction of Duty and suppression of Illegal Publications—Circulation of Newspapers and Revenue therefrom, 1801 to 1842—Number of Papers published in different Divisions of the Kingdom, and their Circulation, 1839 to 1842.

SINCE the publication of the former volumes of this work, the legislature has sanctioned the plans then in agitation for the adoption of a low and uniform rate of postage upon letters passing from one part to another of the United Kingdom.

Those plans, suggested and enforced by Mr. Rowland Hill with a great degree of energy and ability, were at first received by the public as amusing speculations, but little likely to be carried into practice. The proposal that the government should, for the small charge of a penny, convey a letter from Penzance to the Orkneys, seemed, before the matter was fully investigated, and its

practicability demonstrated, to be most unreasonable. The public had grown up in the belief that the charge for the transmission of a letter was fairly required as payment for a service performed at an infinitely cheaper rate than would defray the expense of transmission and distribution, if undertaken by the individual writer. In proportion, however, as the subject was examined, and as Mr. Hill's calculations were tested, this view of the case was abandoned. It appeared that the actual expense to the government for conveying each letter between the most distant points of the kingdom was only a fractional part of a farthing; and that to charge, as in many cases was done, more than 480 times the actual cost, was equivalent to the imposition of a grievous tax upon communications of all kinds, whether carried on for purposes of business or for gratifying the sympathies of family affection and friendship. It was well said by one of the advocates of "postage reform," that "if a law were passed forbidding parents to speak to their children till they had paid sixpence to government for permission, the wickedness would be so palpable that there would be an end to the tax, in that form of exaction, in twenty-four hours. Yet what difference is there in principle when parents are prohibited from writing to their children, and children to their parents, unless they pay that tax under the name of postage?"

In a short time from the first publication of Mr. Hill's proposals, their advantages and justice were made so apparent that numerous petitions in their favour were presented to parliament, and a committee, consisting of some of the most influential bankers, merchants, and traders in London, was formed in order to assist in procuring their adoption. The matter was shortly after taken up by the House of Commons, and a committee

appointed for its consideration recommended a partial adoption of the scheme. Such, however, was the force of public opinion that the government was carried beyond the recommendation of this committee, and in the month of August, 1839, an Act was passed sanctioning the reduction of the rates of inland postage to one uniform rate of a penny on every letter of a given weight, with a proportionate increase for greater weights, and giving authority to the Lords of the Treasury to carry this change into effect by such steps as they should think advisable.

Under this Act a Treasury Order was issued on the 12th of November, 1839, directing that all letters should be charged by weight instead of according to the number of sheets or of inclosures, as was practised under the former law, and directing that on and after the 5th of December in that year the single postage rates between places in the United Kingdom which exceeded fourpence should be reduced to that uniform rate; on the 10th January, 1840, the uniform rate of one penny per half-ounce came into general operation, and on the 6th of May following pre-payment by the use of stamps was begun.

In estimating the probable results of his plans, Mr. Hill assumed that the reduction of the existing rates to one uniform charge of a penny per half-ounce would put an entire stop to the contraband conveyance of letters, which was carried on to an enormous amount, and that it would produce a great extension of the actual correspondence, so great, indeed, as in a few years to restore the net revenue of the post-office to the amount which it yielded under the old system.

The great extent to which the illicit conveyance of letters had extended was clearly brought out in evidence before the committee of the House of Commons. As one

instance, it may be mentioned that a bag, containing eleven hundred letters, was seized in a carrier's warehouse; but if direct evidence of this fraudulent practice had been wanting, the fact of its existence would have been inferred from the condition of the Post-office revenue, which had continued nearly stationary during a great number of years, while the population had been rapidly increasing, and the manufacturing and commercial transactions of the country had been making gigantic strides. Such a reduction of the rates of postage as that advocated and afterwards adopted, would at once put an end to the illicit conveyance of letters as a trade, and cause the whole correspondence of the country to pass through the Post-office. This in itself would cause a large increase of business, without reckoning that one letter additional were written because of the cheapness of conveyance. But all experience in analogous cases gave assurance that a progressive and very great increase would follow from such a wholesale abatement in the charge as that advocated. It was shown by Mr. Hill that a sixfold increase in the number of letters sent by the post would yield as large a revenue to the state as the highest rates charged; and some persons have charged that gentleman with having been grossly deceived in his expectations, because, in two years from its adoption, the low rate of charge did not produce a multiplication of correspondence to that amount. It is not convenient or necessary to go into an examination of the circumstances attending this branch of the public revenue in order to obtain grounds for adopting, or otherwise, the opinion that a sixfold increase would so immediately follow upon the change of system. Nothing published by Mr. Hill justifies us in charging such an error against him, and it is in justice to him that the reader's attention is requested to the

following extract from his pamphlet upon this branch of the subject.

"But in considering the subject of increase, it must be remembered that, however desirable, and however probable, a large increase may be, it is not counted upon as either certain or essential to the plan. The proposed regulations are not founded upon the presumption that in their adoption the revenue is secured from all risk of suffering. What I have endeavoured to show is, first, that it is very possible the revenue may not suffer at all; and secondly, that it is highly probable it will not suffer much. Supposing, however, that the Post-office revenue should suffer even a serious diminution, it can scarcely be doubted that the cheap transmission of letters and other papers, particularly commercial documents, would so powerfully stimulate the productive power of the country, and thereby so greatly increase the revenue in other departments, that the loss would be more than compensated."

Let us now see how far the hopes expressed of an increased number of letters have been justified by the experience of the Post-office during the period that has elapsed since the adoption of the uniform rate of one penny, down to the latest period for which the accounts have been made up.

The number of letters that passed through the London General Post-office, inwards and outwards, during the year 1839, was—

Unpaid letters . . .	17,662,437
Paid letters . . .	3,425,455
Total . . .	21,087,892

This included near four weeks during which the four-penny uniform rate was in operation. The numbers in 1840 and 1841 were,—

Year.	Unpaid.	Paid.	Stamped.	Total.	Increase Per Cent. from 1839.
1840	7,287,627	29,668,134	11,099,650	48,055,411	127·88
1841	5,662,060	29,960,452	32,196,367	67,818,879	221·60

In the first twenty-four weeks of 1842 the numbers were,—

Unpaid	. .	2,424,816,	equal to	5,253,768	in the year
Paid	. . .	12,956,619	„	28,072,674	„
Stamped	. .	16,868,064	„	36,547,472	„

Total. . . 32,249,499, equal to 69,873,914 in the year,

showing an increase over 1839 of 231·34 per cent.

The estimated number of letters that passed through the London District post in 1839 was estimated at—

Unpaid letters	. . .	10,407,449
Paid letters	. . .	2,870,569
Total	. .	13,278,018

In the years 1840, 1841, and 1842, estimating the total number for the last-named year from the number ascertained in the first twenty-four weeks, the numbers passing through the London District post were—

Year.	Unpaid.	Paid.	Stamped.	Total.	Increase Per Cent. over 1839.
1840	2,857,126	13,142,713	4,039,085	20,038,924	50·91
1841	1,806,737	10,762,542	10,054,090	22,623,369	70·38
1842	1,591,787	10,254,155	12,311,735	24,157,677	81·93

The accounts of the delivery of letters in the country districts of England and Wales, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, have not been given with the same completeness as those of the London deliveries, and their numbers for the whole of each year must be estimated from statements of individual weeks; the results thus assumed, although not strictly accurate, will be near enough to the truth to serve for the purpose of comparison.

	1839	1840	1841	1842
Country offices . . .	44,942,404	88,071,308	103,395,678	113,266,205
London, inland, foreign, and ship letters . . .	21,087,892	48,055,411	67,818,879	69,873,914
London district post . .	13,278,018	30,098,924	22,623,369	24,157,677
Total, England and Wales . . .	79,308,314	156,165,643	193,837,926	207,297,796
Scotland . . .	9,154,523	18,554,167	21,234,772	22,765,821
Ireland . . .	10,551,320	18,210,646	20,794,297	22,628,814
Total, United Kingdom	99,014,156	192,930,456	235,866,995	252,692,431

The per centage increase in 1840 was thus 94·85

"	"	1841	"	138·21
"	"	1842	"	155·21

or for every 10,000 letters that passed through the post-offices of the United Kingdom in 1839, before the adoption of the reduced uniform rates, there were posted—

In 1840	19,485
1841	23,821
1842	25,521

There can be but little doubt that the lessened rate of increase shown in 1842 was in a great degree, if not altogether, occasioned by the comparative stagnation of trade in that year, and that with the return of commercial activity the correspondence of the country will again exhibit a satisfactory progress. If the increase should go forward at the same rate as in the three years from 1839 to 1842, the gross receipt of the Post-office revenue under the uniform rate of one penny would in 1850 be equal to what it was in 1839 under the old system of high graduated charges. In the intermediate years, although the public revenue derived from this source would suffer, there would be experienced countervailing advantages which could not fail to improve the revenue in other branches; and it even admits of question whether the government would not find an ultimate advantage in performing all this class of services for the public upon terms that would merely bring back the necessary ex-

penses of their establishments for the purpose. It does not, however, seem necessary to carry reduction, as regards the postage of letters, further than has already been adopted for their transmission from one part of the kingdom to another.

Although the parliamentary papers hitherto printed do not give the means of stating the number of letters sent through the Post-office at any time later than April, 1842, we have the strongest and most satisfactory evidence of the continued success of the measure of reduction in the growing amount of revenue. The improvement during the entire year 1842 in the Post-office revenue of Great Britain amounted to 150,000*l.*, or 33 per cent. more than the receipts of 1841, being equal to an increase of 36 millions in the number of letters; which increase is the more remarkable, since it has occurred during a year in which, from the general stagnation of trade, every other branch of the national revenue, without exception, has declined in productiveness.

The progress of the public revenue derived from the conveyance of letters at different periods in Great Britain from 1758, and in the United Kingdom in each year of the present century, has been as follows:—

GREAT BRITAIN.			
Year ending 5th April.	Gross Receipt. £.	Charges of Management. £.	Net Revenue. £.
1758	222,075	148,345	73,730
1763	238,999	141,165	97,834
1768	299,133	133,350	165,783
1773	332,006	164,830	167,176
1778	373,564	235,570	137,994
1783	434,051	274,426	159,625
1788	547,084	250,104	296,980
1793	627,592	236,084	391,508
1798	950,476	337,196	613,280
1799	1,012,731	355,343	657,388
1800	1,083,950	362,969	720,981

Year ending 5th Janu- ary	GREAT BRITAIN.				IRELAND.			
	Gross Receipt	Charges of Manage- ment.	Re- turns	Net Receipt.	Gross Receipt.	Charges of Manage- ment.	Re- turns.	Net Receipt.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1801	1,144,900	350,249	39,382	755,299	66,030	39,703	8,953	17,376
1802	1,289,999	363,657	43,471	880,884	102,293	56,882	13,607	31,806
1803	994,970	240,551	33,071	721,349	102,518	51,935	14,070	36,510
1804	1,321,383	352,844	42,902	924,637	108,844	6,923	18,640	41,773
1805	1,347,811	356,699	40,761	944,352	128,333	63,696	15,752	38,981
1806	1,501,741	381,811	53,829	1,066,109	146,641	75,872	17,779	53,031
1807	1,568,330	383,106	50,282	1,126,742	149,851	71,662	19,278	58,917
1808	1,553,511	384,308	52,541	1,099,262	158,744	73,723	17,477	61,549
1809	1,559,345	387,937	53,437	1,091,923	160,510	81,512	17,859	61,139
1810	1,715,011	426,316	58,844	1,190,210	180,611	93,343	16,731	71,606
1811	1,791,471	443,513	53,301	1,287,657	193,531	100,974	16,692	77,899
1812	1,770,347	438,321	59,730	1,272,496	189,963	102,070	16,274	71,619
1813	1,850,421	481,431	62,520	1,329,470	193,458	95,455	17,483	82,520
1814	2,003,987	515,504	67,532	1,418,951	203,226	97,060	13,053	87,113
1815	2,159,467	571,601	77,091	1,509,775	211,562	99,881	21,490	91,191
1816	2,193,741	581,343	81,109	1,526,289	215,000	110,594	24,737	92,669
1817	2,206,111	543,588	71,111	1,591,412	211,711	105,241	21,235	85,793
1818	1,483,103	561,499	68,000	1,333,604	203,456	113,855	19,331	80,270
1819	1,431,043	543,688	69,348	1,387,477	191,510	97,992	19,892	80,126
1820	1,393,885	481,571	64,291	1,448,623	197,677	104,622	18,438	74,617
1821	1,980,304	501,368	77,308	1,400,628	192,517	108,619	18,875	65,017
1822	1,935,815	514,109	66,409	1,355,297	187,120	101,082	17,850	64,188
1823	1,942,902	520,419	61,357	1,355,126	186,024	94,538	18,240	73,246
1824	1,965,411	501,671	64,130	1,400,610	188,826	95,011	18,118	75,697
1825	2,055,138	529,801	66,717	1,459,620	199,602	99,028	19,070	80,504
1826	2,160,320	542,351	78,811	1,539,158	207,177	93,402	20,147	82,638
1827	2,241,514	613,871	74,074	1,499,569	210,757	91,709	21,795	90,193
1828	2,061,171	607,681	69,730	1,383,760	211,332	98,511	18,325	92,996
1829	2,044,432	506,383	62,612	1,417,437	210,559	97,390	15,350	126,819
1830	2,024,116	511,111	60,004	1,382,201	211,073	96,141	15,811	129,108
1831	2,051,111	514,311	71,509	1,487,291	211,711	99,905	17,171	140,089
1832	2,064,311	514,311	71,509	1,487,291	211,711	99,905	17,171	140,089
1833	2,064,311	514,311	71,509	1,487,291	211,711	99,905	17,171	140,089
1834	2,062,311	512,311	83,605	1,426,385	211,071	94,021	21,124	126,926
1835	2,119,508	511,311	81,311	1,382,556	210,471	94,876	25,091	140,498
1836	2,107,671	512,311	84,428	1,410,932	210,664	96,421	25,718	123,619
1837	2,206,736	509,220	80,491	1,517,025	215,110	95,648	24,711	134,809
1838	2,200,736	517,311	96,979	1,526,446	211,236	106,948	25,551	128,797
1839	2,212,781	518,441	93,981	1,544,359	211,434	101,310	24,914	128,110
1840	2,211,114	511,311	94,199	1,530,984	215,380	109,742	27,631	118,107
1841	1,291,371	729,863	45,924	515,584	101,563	116,827	4,406	19,670
1842	1,409,350	805,627	40,222	563,501	129,717	125,306	3,511	900

* Years ending 5th April.

† Three-quarters of year to 5th January.

‡ Year ending 5th January.

The net revenue derived from the Post-office in the United Kingdom has therefore been—

Year.	£.	Year.	£.	Year.	£.
1801	911,875	1815	1,619,196	1829	1,509,347
1802	757,859 (3 qrs.)	1816	1,537,505	1830	1,517,951
1803	956,212	1817	1,433,871	1831	1,569,038
1804	983,363	1818	1,467,533	1832	1,531,828
1805	1,119,429	1819	1,523,240	1833	1,553,425
1806	1,185,659	1820	1,465,605	1834	1,513,052
1807	1,167,425	1821	1,393,465	1835	1,564,457
1808	1,173,062	1822	1,428,352	1836	1,645,835
1809	1,260,822	1823	1,475,167	1837	1,658,481
1810	1,365,251	1824	1,540,022	1838	1,576,522
1811	1,344,109	1825	1,632,267	1839	1,649,088
1812	1,422,001	1826	1,589,762	1840	495,914
1813	1,506,064	1827	1,484,164	1841	564,407
1814	1,598,295	1828	1,544,224		

The rates of postage for letters in England from 1710 to 1765 were, for the conveyance of a single letter (double, &c., letters in proportion),—

	<i>d.</i>
For any distance not exceeding 80 miles . . .	3
For any distance above 80 miles . . .	4
Between London and Edinburgh . . .	6
Between London and Dublin . . .	6

In 1765 the rates for short distances were modified, and the charge for a distance not exceeding “one post stage” (the length of which is not specified) was made a penny, and for a distance above one and not exceeding two post stages, twopence, the charges for greater distances remaining as before.

In 1784 an addition of one penny was made, and the rates for greater distances were altered thus :—

	<i>d.</i>
Not exceeding 1 post stage . . .	2
Above 1, not exceeding 2 post stages . . .	3
Above 2 post stages, not exceeding 80 miles . .	4
Above 80, not exceeding 150 miles . . .	5

	<i>d.</i>
Above 150 miles	6
Between London and Edinburgh, and London and Dublin	7

In 1796 another alteration was made, and the rates were,—

	<i>d.</i>
For any distance not exceeding 15 miles . . .	3
15 and not exceeding 30 miles	4
30 " 60 "	5
60 " 100 "	6
100 " 150 "	7
Above 150 miles	8

In 1801 and 1805 the rates were again altered as follows:—

	1801	1805
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Distance not exceeding 15 miles . . .	3	4
15 and not exceeding 30 " . . .	4	5
30 " 50 " . . .	5	6
50 " 80 " . . .	6	7
80 " 120 " . . .	7	8
120 " 170 " . . .	8	9
170 " 230 " . . .	9	10
230 " 300 " . . .	10	11
And for every further distance of 100 miles	1	1

In the early part of last century the rates of postage in Scotland were in a slight degree below those charged in England, but they have long since been equalized ; and from 1812 an addition of a halfpenny was charged upon each letter, whether single or double, or heavier, passing between England and Scotland.

In 1827 the following scale of rates was applied to the whole United Kingdom, for the conveyance of a single letter. Double, &c., letters were charged proportionally:—

				<i>d.</i>
For any distance not exceeding 15 miles.	.	.	.	4
15 and not exceeding 20 miles	.	.	.	5
20	„	30	„ . . .	6
30	„	50	„ . . .	7
50	„	80	„ . . .	8
80	„	120	„ . . .	9
120	„	170	„ . . .	10
170	„	230	„ . . .	11
230	„	300	„ . . .	12
300	„	400	„ . . .	13
400	„	500	„ . . .	14
500	„	600	„ . . .	15
600	„	700	„ . . .	16
Exceeding 700 miles	.	.	.	17

The postage rates charged in Ireland from 1784 to 1797 were—

	<i>d.</i>
For any distance not exceeding 15 miles.	2
15 and not exceeding 30 miles	3
Exceeding 30 miles	4

In 1797, 1805, and 1810, the rates were advanced as follows :—

	1797	1805	1810
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Distance not exceeding 15 miles.	2	3	4
15 and not exceeding 30 miles	3	4	5
30 „ 50 „	4	5	6
50 „ 80 „	5	6	7
Exceeding 80 miles	6	7	8

In 1813 and 1814 the following changes were made—

	<i>d.</i>
1813. Distance not exceeding 10 miles	2
10 and not exceeding 20 miles	3
20 „ 30 „	4
30 „ 40 „	5
40 „ 50 „	6
50 „ 60 „	7

					<i>d.</i>
1813.	60 and not exceeding 80 miles	.	.	.	8
	80 " 100 "	.	.	.	9
	Exceeding 100 miles	.	.	.	10
1814.	Distance not exceeding 7 miles	.	.	.	2
	7 and not exceeding 15 "	.	.	.	3
	15 " 25 "	.	.	.	4
	25 " 35 "	.	.	.	5
	35 " 45 "	.	.	.	6
	45 " 55 "	.	.	.	7
	55 " 65 "	.	.	.	8
	65 " 95 "	.	.	.	9
	95 " 120 "	.	.	.	10
	120 " 150 "	.	.	.	11
	150 " 200 "	.	.	.	12
	200 " 250 "	.	.	.	13
	250 " 300 "	.	.	.	14
	And for every 100 miles additional	.	.	.	1

The changes made in the rates during the present century were calculated to produce the following results :—

Year.	Increase of Revenue. £.	Diminution of Revenue. £.
1801	150,000	..
1805	230,000	..
1813	220,000	..
1819	..	17,600
1821	2,200	..
1824	4,000	..
1825	5,100	..
1827	..	80,000
1831	..	25,000
1835	5,500	..
1836	..	31,470
Total increase . .	616,800	£154,070
Diminution. . .	154,070	
Estimated increase	£462,730	

which sum, added to the net revenue from postages in 1801, would have amounted to 1,374,605*l.* The sum actually received in 1837, the year following the latest alteration included above, was 1,658,481*l.*, showing an apparent advance of 283,876*l.*; but between 1801 and 1836 the population had increased 59½ per cent., and to have kept pace with that increase the post-office should have yielded 2,192,495*l.*, or 534,015*l.* more than the actual result. It is curious to observe the altogether stationary condition of this branch of the public revenue, while such rapid progress was experienced in the trading and manufacturing pursuits of the country. This alone gave sufficient evidence that the rates imposed were excessive, and that their modification was needed.

Owing to the great craving of the people for information upon political subjects during the agitation that accompanied the introduction and passing of the Bill "to Amend the Representation of the People," commonly known as "The Reform Bill," a great temptation was offered for the illegal publication of newspapers upon unstamped paper, many of which were sold in large numbers in defiance of all the preventive efforts made by the officers of government. The stamp duty of fourpence upon each sheet placed the legally published journals beyond the reach of the working classes, who eagerly availed themselves of the low-priced papers offered, and which, however inferior they might be in every quality that should attend them, gave, or professed to give, the information that was so eagerly sought. A great evil, greater even than the infraction of the law that accompanied this state of things, resided in that inferiority; the writers of those unstamped papers making up in violence for their deficiencies of talent and information, produced corresponding feelings in the minds of

their readers; and as it was felt to be impossible to put down the illegal publications without having recourse to a system of harshness that might produce even more violent and more widely-spread feelings of dissatisfaction, the government wisely gave way, and effectually and at once put an end to the illegal publications by reducing the duty from 4*d.* to 1*d.* per sheet. This measure was announced in the House of Commons in March, 1836, and the Act by which it was sanctioned was passed in the month of August following.

The circulation of stamped newspapers since that time has very greatly increased, as it was reasonable to expect would be the case. The number of stamps issued at different periods before and since the reduction of the duty, and the net revenue derived from the same, have been as follows :—

IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Year.	Number.	Gross Revenue.
1801	16,085,085	£185,806
1811	24,421,713	298,547
1821	24,862,186	335,753
1822	23,932,403	398,873
1823	24,670,265	411,171
1824	25,573,909	431,668
1825	26,950,693	449,574
1826	27,004,802	451,676
1827	27,368,490	458,559
1828	28,007,335	473,354
1829	28,691,611	480,968
1830	30,158,741	505,439

IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Year.	Number.	Net Revenue.
1831	35,198,160	483,153
1832	34,465,860	473,238
1833	32,468,940	445,835
1834	32,229,360	441,683
1835	33,191,820	453,130

IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Year.	Number.	Net Revenue.
1836	35,576,056	£359,826
1837	53,496,207	218,042
1838	53,347,231	221,164
1839	55,891,003	238,394
1840	60,922,151	244,416
1841	59,936,897	..
1842	61,495,503	..

The number of papers published in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, distinguishing London from the rest of England, and the number of stamps issued to each of those divisions in the four years from 1839 to 1842 were as follows :—

	1839		1840	
	Number of Papers.	Number of Stamps.	Number of Papers.	Number of Stamps.
London	96	28,719,271	153	30,705,340
England (exclusive of London) . . }	242	17,255,798	250	19,402,573
Wales	10	378,700	12	478,400
Scotland	64	4,102,636	72	4,478,333
Ireland. . . .	82	5,434,598	91	5,857,505
Total	494	55,891,003	578	60,922,151
	1841		1842	
	Number of Papers.	Number of Stamps.	Number of Papers.	Number of Stamps.
London	134	31,075,332	125	32,166,474
England (exclusive of London) . . }	232	17,346,180	221	17,508,381
Wales	12	478,350	12	445,930
Scotland	71	5,042,012	76	5,388,079
Ireland. . . .	92	5,995,023	87	5,986,639
Total	541	59,936,897	521	61,495,503

There is another subject intimately connected with the moral progress of the United Kingdom which it would be desirable to investigate, if any method could be adopted for that purpose, and whereby it could be treated in a manner analogous to that hitherto pursued with other subjects in these pages. That branch comprises the progress made in science, literature, and the arts. It is plain, however, that there are no recognized standards or positions from which that progress can be measured, and that any opinion that might be expressed regarding it must convey only the view of an individual, unsupported by facts that would command the general assent.

No one who has been a careful observer of what has been and is passing around him will for a moment question that very great progress has been made by our country during the present century in all the various branches of human discovery and acquirement ; but the precise amount or the comparative value of that progress cannot possibly be measured by the advances made in former periods, and which themselves are equally without a standard or measure of comparison. If, however, this difficulty could be surmounted, is it not probable that we should find—regard being had to the superior facilities afforded to each succeeding age through the labours of its precursors—that the efforts of the human mind, and the success attending those efforts, have been much the same at all periods ; and that, consequently, if we have profited as well of our opportunities as our fathers did of those bequeathed to them, we must have made greater and more rapid strides than any who have gone before us in the walks of science and all other branches of intellectual progress, whereby we shall have

prepared the way for a still more rapid advance on the part of those who will succeed us.

If this reason for avoiding the discussion should not be considered satisfactory, it may be further urged that the subject does not admit of being properly treated within the limited space that could be devoted to it in this work. A large volume indeed would not suffice to do justice to the question.

SECTION VIII. COLONIES AND FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES.

CHAPTER I.

ADVANTAGES OF COLONIES.

ious Views entertained on the Subject—Whence arising—Restrictive Colonial System; Mischief resulting from it—Advantages of granting Commercial Freedom to Colonies—Field for profitable Enterprise offered by Colonies—Experience necessary to the prudent Government of Colonies—Frequent Changes of Ministers unfavourable to this end—Suggestions for Establishing a permanent Colonial Council under the Secretary of State—Comparison of such a Plan with that pursued for the Government of India—Political Advantages of possessing Colonies—Negative advantages following from such Possession.

called upon to declare the circumstance in the conduct of England which, more than all other things, has her the envy of surrounding nations, it would be for colonial possessions that we must attribute that vigour. In the eyes of foreigners those possessions are at the evidence of our power and the surest indicant of increase. A very different estimate of their importance is however, made by many among ourselves. How often we hear the value of those possessions depreciated; how common it is to be told that England would be more prosperous and happy without colonies!

Is this doctrine confined to the common herd of folly; it is put forth from time to time by men who should teach us by their writings, and is occasionally heard even within the walls of the Houses of Parliament,

where, so often as some real or alleged act of mismanagement or extravagance in our colonial administration is brought forward, occasion is used for displaying to the world how small a portion of the science of government may be possessed by men who take upon themselves one of the highest functions of society—that of making laws for its regulation. “Colonies are mismanaged—therefore they are evils. They are the source of ceaseless expense—therefore it would be wise to rid ourselves of the encumbrance!” Such has been the cry from time to time, and more or less at all times, of men who, while they put themselves forward as being competent to assist in the government of a nation, are unable to discern the difference between use and abuse, or to see that in politics as well as in all other branches of human concerns, everything, however useful or even necessary to happiness, may be converted into an injury by an unwise mode of dealing with it.

It would form a very inconclusive argument against the value of colonies and foreign possessions, that under bad or defective systems of government they had always been productive of evil. The like objection might as reasonably be made against every personal and every national blessing. Wealth may be abused, intellectual gifts may be perverted, station and power may be prostituted to serve the most unrighteous purposes, and we all have seen these things happen; but do we thence find occasion to denounce the pernicious nature of riches, or mental endowments, or personal and national influence, and to renounce them, together with the good they are calculated to yield? It would seem to require but one moment’s reflection to be convinced that colonial possessions must be capable of adding to the wealth, the power, and the resources of the parent state, if the right means for

making them so shall be adopted; and that if, on the contrary, they have tended to our weakness and impoverishment, those consequences are attributable not to anything inherent in the nature of those possessions, but to unwise legislation or to unjust government.

Under the influence of these perverse causes, colonies may be, and too frequently have been and are, sources of weakness rather than of strength to the parent state; and probably to no country have they been so in the same degree as they have been to England. The principal cause of this fact it is not difficult to point out. Until a recent period the trade with our dependencies has been converted into a close monopoly in favour of England; and although various relaxations have been made in this selfish system, it is still sought to retain a great share of the supposed advantages of monopoly by means of differential duties chargeable in the colonies against the productions and manufactures of foreign countries. Many years have not passed since the ports of our colonies were closed against all ships save those under the British flag, while the ships of those colonies were prohibited from trading with any foreign country. Bryan Edwards, in his 'History of the West Indies,' thus plainly describes the system:—"The leading principle of colonization in all the maritime states of Europe (Great Britain among the rest) was commercial monopoly. The word *monopoly* in this case admitted a very extensive interpretation. It comprehended the monopoly of supply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the first, the colonists were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants; by the second, they were compelled to bring their chief staple commodities to the mother-country alone; and by the third, to bring them

to her in a raw or unmanufactured state, that her own manufacturers might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried so far in the colonial system of Great Britain as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare, in parliament, that the British colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe.”*

We have the further testimony on this point of Adam Smith, who thus describes the origin of this spirit of monopoly with regard to the trade with our colonies :—

“ To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers ; but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. Such statesmen, and such statesmen only, are capable of fancying that that they will find some advantage in employing the blood and treasure of their fellow-citizens to found and maintain such an empire. Say to a shopkeeper, buy me a good estate, and I shall always buy my clothes at your shop, even though I should pay somewhat dearer than what I can have them for at other shops, and you will not find him very forward to embrace your proposal. But should any other person buy you such an estate, the shopkeeper will be much obliged to your benefactor if he would enjoin you to buy all your clothes at his shop. England purchased from some of her subjects who found themselves uneasy at home a great estate in a distant country. The price, indeed, was very small, and amounted to little more than the expense of the different equipments which made the first discovery, recon-

* ‘ History of West Indies,’ vol. ii. p. 565.

montered the coast, and took a fictitious possession of the country. The land was good, and of great extent, and the cultivators having plenty of good ground to work upon, and being for some time at liberty to sell their produce where they pleased, became in the course of little more than thirty or forty years (between 1620 and 1660) so numerous and thriving a people that the shopkeepers and other traders of England wished to secure to themselves the monopoly of their custom. Without pretending, therefore, that they had paid any part of the original purchase-money, or of the subsequent expense of improvement, they petitioned the parliament that the cultivators of America might for the future be confined to their shop; first, for buying all the goods which they wanted from Europe; and secondly, for selling all such parts of their own produce as those traders might find it convenient to buy,—for they did not find it convenient to buy every part of it. Some parts of it imported into England might have interfered with some of the trades which they themselves carried on at home. Those particular parts of it, therefore, they were willing that the colonists should sell where they could—the further off the better; and upon that account proposed that their market should be confined to the countries south of Cape Finisterre. A clause in the famous Act of Navigation established this truly shopkeeper proposal into a law.

“ The maintenance of this monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or, more properly, perhaps the sole end and purpose of the dominion which Great Britain assumes over her colonies. In the exclusive trade, it is supposed, consists the great advantage of provinces which have never yet afforded either revenue or military force for the support of the civil government, or the defence of the mother country. The monopoly is the principal badge

of their dependency, and it is the sole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency. Whatever expense Great Britain has hitherto laid out in maintaining this dependency, has really been laid out in order to support this monopoly.*

In order to reconcile our colonists to the “badge of their dependency” thus fastened upon them, the legislature of England has sought to give them compensation at the expense of other countries, by means of differential duties that admitted the productions of our colonies at lower rates than the same productions brought from other quarters. Every real benefit thus imparted to the colonists must be at the expense of the people at home; first, because of the higher price which we pay for the colonial articles, and without which higher price there could manifestly be no advantage to the colonist; and further, because of the retaliatory measures to which the system is sure to give rise on the part of countries whose produce is thus placed at disadvantage in our markets, and which measures of retaliation are levelled, not at the trade of our colonies, which indeed they cannot reach, but against that of the mother-country.

The amount of injury sustained from this last-named cause cannot well be made the subject of calculation; but some idea may be formed of the ruinous effect of differential duties upon the expenditure of this nation, by showing the result produced in one year by the prohibitory duty upon a single article of colonial production—sugar. A statement to this effect will be found in this volume (page 40), where it is shown that we paid for the quantity of sugar used in 1840 more than 5,000,000*l.* sterling beyond what would have been paid for the same quantity, irrespective of duties, by any other people of

* ‘Wealth of Nations,’ book iv. chap. vii.

Europe. The total value of our manufactures exported in that year to our sugar colonies was under 4,000,000*l.*, so that the nation would have gained a million of money in that one year by following the true principle of buying in the cheapest market, even though we had made the sugar-growers a present of all the goods which they took from us.

It must be idle to suppose that colonists depend for their existence and progress upon such preferences. Unless prevented through the interference of legislative restrictions, they will certainly be able to apply their industry in some profitable channel. The very fact of their existence indicates that the inhabitants of colonies are in possession of advantages, whether of soil or climate, greater than are afforded by the country whence they have emigrated; and it must be reckoned among the evils produced by differential or *protective* duties, that they divert capital and industry from more profitable into less profitable, and sometimes even into hurtful, branches of employment.

It is not necessary here to enlarge upon this topic. Enough has been said to show that it is not by means of commercial restrictions and monopolies that colonies can be made valuable. Emancipate your colonies from all the shackles with which your *shopkeeping* spirit has loaded them; let them be free to adopt such commercial regulations as each may find best suited to its circumstances, and you may then safely proceed to emancipate yourselves from the countervailing shackles you have imposed upon your own commerce. Thenceforward your trade with your foreign possessions will be truly profitable to the nation. The settlers with whom it is carried on will have taken with them, or will have inherited from their fathers, a taste for the manufactures

of the old country ; and as they will for the most part be unable themselves to produce those manufactures, they will have every inducement to buy them from their countrymen rather than resort to foreign markets for a supply. That England, which boasts of its power of competing successfully with the whole world in so many branches of manufacture, should think it necessary to force her goods by fiscal regulations upon people who have already the strongest inducements to trade with her, seems such an absurdity that one is at a loss to imagine how it could ever have been conceived. Such a course of legislation is not simply useless, it is positively mischievous by interfering with the natural rights of the colonists, and inducing the feeling that there can be a diversity of interest between themselves and the parent country.

One principal advantage which a state may fairly and properly derive from colonial possessions is the field which they offer for profitable enterprise to its subjects. Without admitting that under an enlightened system of legislation there would be any imperative necessity for sending forth our additional numbers, the advantage of their thus going forth cannot be denied ; nor will it be questioned that the inducements to that step would be far greater than they ever yet have been, if, in leaving the home of their birth for that of their adoption, they were not made practically to feel that they forfeit some of their privileges as citizens, and come in some sort to be viewed in the light of foreigners or strangers. One of the wisest sentiments ever uttered in parliament on the subject of the government of colonies, was that delivered in the session of 1842 by Sir Robert Peel, to the effect that colonies should as far as possible be treated as though they were integral parts of the kingdom. If this

sentiment was carried into practice no state need ever fear that its colonies would seek to shake off its supremacy; such a course would then be quite as improbable as that the parent state itself should seek the dismemberment.

To bring about this state of things something more is wanted than enlightened opinions. It is necessary, also, that the government of the colonies should be administered by men who have a perfect knowledge of their condition, and wants, and capabilities. Unfortunately the system of government established in England is adverse to this end. Any man, however high his intellectual capacity, and however extensive his attainments, would be unable to fulfil those conditions until he should have acquired the experience of years devoted to the task; and it has so happened that, with the exception of the analogous office of President of the Board of Control, the ministry of the colonies has, during the present century, been changed more frequently than any other of the great officers of state. There have been during forty years eighteen Secretaries of State for this department, one of whom, Earl Bathurst, held the seals for fifteen years, so that the average tenure of the remaining seventeen was under eighteen months. On the occurrence of each of these changes the whole system of our colonial policy has been liable to alteration; although, if there be one department of government which more than any other requires to be conducted upon fixed principles, assuredly it must be that to which are confided the variety of interests involved in the colonial dependencies of the kingdom, the inhabitants of which have no voice in the national councils.

Under such a system it would be unreasonable to expect anything like consistency of action. At the same

time it is necessary, in order to preserve harmony between the several branches of the general government of the country, that the colonial minister should be a member of the cabinet, and therefore subject to removal from office. How then is it possible to find a remedy for the evil? A plan to this end has been proposed, which seems to offer considerable hope of success: it is this:—

Let there be appointed a permanent colonial council, the members of which body shall be chosen, not from party considerations, but for their knowledge of colonial interests and their acquaintance with the science of government. The general accordance of this council with the policy of the administration would be secured by the nomination of a chief councillor, who might, as now, have the dignity of a Secretary of State and a seat in the cabinet, while the colonists would be secured against any capricious or ill-considered changes on his part by the interposition of a majority of the council. It would add greatly to the efficiency of this body, and in other ways would be advantageous, if a large proportion of the members of the council should be chosen from among persons whose fitness for performing the duties of the office has been evinced by ability previously shown in the more important of our colonies. A body thus constituted would prove a bond of union between the colonies and the parent state, through personal confidence on the one hand and local attachments on the other. A future seat at this council would prove an object of honourable ambition; and for each one who could succeed in its attainment there would be many led by hope to undertake studies and to make exertions whereby to prove their fitness for the honour, and who could expect to succeed only through the good opinion of their brother

colonists and the home government, obtained as the consequence of talent and public usefulness.

It can hardly be said that this plan is without a precedent in our own time and country. The government of the affairs of our Indian empire by a Court of Directors, consisting in great part of military men and civilians, whose fitness for the office has been gained by experience in the country they are called on to govern, controlled too by a responsible minister of the crown, is a case as nearly analogous as possible to that under consideration; and the success which has generally attended their government should give hope for the favourable working of a permanent colonial council.

The advantages, to a state of possessing colonies, which have hitherto been enumerated, are all of an economical description. There remain to be noticed the political advantages which they offer. These are of two kinds—positive and negative. The positive advantages obviously reside in the additions which such possessions make to the power and resources of the parent state; and the capacity for affording those additions never can be fully developed except under an enlightened system of government. So long as, with the design of profiting some particular interests at home, their trade shall be shackled, and the direction of their industry controlled; so long as their offices of emolument and honour shall be filled with a view to party patronage, and without duly considering the fitness of persons appointed; and so long as the management of their highest interests shall be intrusted to hands continually changing, we may be certain that colonies will not fulfil the beneficial ends which they are calculated to secure. But when the sentiment already alluded to, of placing dependencies upon a footing of perfect equality with the parent country, shall be carried

into practical operation ; when Canada and Jamaica shall, in every way that is possible, be considered and treated as Yorkshire or Lancashire is treated, they will be placed in the condition, equally with those counties, of adding to our power. Nor does there seem to be any insurmountable difficulty to the adoption of such a course. The chief step towards its accomplishment will be attained whenever its wisdom shall be practically recognized by the legislative and the executive government—the will to admit our dependencies to a full participation of the privileges, commercial and political, which are enjoyed by the inhabitants of these islands, must at once bind our colonists to us by the strongest of all ties, and lead to their increasing prosperity. The facilities for such a system are daily becoming greater through the extension of steam navigation, whereby distance is practically and importantly lessened for every purpose of moral, political, and commercial intercourse.

The negative advantages offered to a state by the possession of its colonies consist in this—that their power and resources cannot be rendered available against it. This will be fully understood if we reflect upon the consequences that might result to England from the acquisition by the United States of America of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. At present these possessions yield no direct revenue to the parent state ; they provide, it is true, a few posts of profit, the bestowal of which may in a trifling degree be of advantage to the minister of the day ; but, on the other hand, one of them has been in great part the cause of an ill-judged fiscal preference which has long acted to our injury by limiting our exchanges with the timber-producing countries of Europe, while the premium thus offered to the lumberers of New Brunswick has retarded the development of its

resources in more important branches of industry. It can hardly be said that England has hitherto drawn any *positive* advantages from the possession of these provinces, if we place out of view the convenience afforded during periods of war by the harbour of Halifax, but the *negative* advantages from them are evident if we consider that the United States of America are greatly deficient in good harbours on the Atlantic coast, while Nova Scotia possesses, in addition to the magnificent harbour of Halifax, eleven ports between it and Cape Canso, with sufficient depth of water for the largest ships of war, besides fourteen other harbours capable of receiving merchant vessels; and although New Brunswick is not equally well provided in this respect, its coast furnishes several safe and capacious harbours, including those of St. John and Miramichi, with the further advantage of their greater proximity to Europe. In the unhappy event of a war breaking out between the two countries, the possession of these harbours by America would furnish her with the means of annoyance to our commerce from national vessels and privateers, the magnitude of which is hardly calculable. The continued possession of these provinces is therefore a matter of very deep importance to England, even though they should be incapable of imparting to us—and this is very far from being the case—any positive advantage whatever. Such continued possession is, in the mean time, itself an additional guarantee for the preservation of peace, through the means of annoyance in war which they would afford in our hands, and which would be far greater than their possession would impart to America by reason of the proximity to her great Atlantic cities.

CHAPTER II.

DEPENDENCIES IN EUROPE.

GIBRALTAR: its Population, Trade, and Shipping. **MALTA:** its Importance as a Military and Naval Station—Its Area, Population, Trade, Revenues, and Grain Monopoly—Restriction against Printing—Abolition of those Monopolies—Agricultural Produce—Shipping. **IONIAN ISLANDS:** their Constitution, Area, Population, Trade, Shipping, Exports, Manufactures, and Productions—Education. **HELGOLAND:** Advantages of its Position—Former Importance as a Trading Depôt during the War.

THE dependencies of England in Europe, none of which can properly be considered colonies, are :—

Gibraltar;
Malta, and its dependency, Gozo ;
The Ionian Islands, viz. Corfu,
Cephalonia,
Zante,
Santa Maura,
Ithaca,
Cerigo,
Paxo ; and
Heligoland.

The first of these is chiefly valuable as a military station, in which respect its geographical position at the entrance of the Mediterranean gives it very great importance. In point of territory it is wholly insignificant, comprising an area of only $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles, or 1120 acres. Its population in 1834 was as follows :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
British subjects	4,812	5,310	10,122
Aliens and resident strangers	..	..	4,886
			<hr/>
Total . . .			15,008

There were among these persons 1031 employed in commerce, chiefly a smuggling trade, fostered by the anti-commercial system pursued in Spain, and which would doubtless cease with the relaxation of that system. The shipments of British manufactures from the United Kingdom to this station in each of the fifteen years from 1827 to 1841 were of the following value :—

	£.		£.		£.
1827	1,045,266	1832	461,470	1837	906,155
1828	1,038,925	1833	385,460	1838	894,096
1829	504,163	1834	460,719	1839	1,170,702
1830	292,760	1835	602,580	1840	1,111,176
1831	367,285	1836	756,411	1841	1,053,367

The great bulk of the shipments consist of cotton, linen, and woollen goods ; the value of these goods in the last three years of the series was :—

	1839	1840	1841
	£.	£.	£.
Cotton goods .	785,233	635,821	622,875
Linen goods .	174,329	224,061	199,616
Woollen goods .	77,603	97,092	97,341
	<hr/> £1,037,165	<hr/> £956,974	<hr/> £919,832

A large quantity of tobacco is likewise shipped to this depôt, nearly all of which is fraudulently introduced into Spain.

Gibraltar was taken by us in 1704, and has since remained subject to the British Crown.

The shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and Gibraltar in each year from 1832 to 1841 was as under :—

	Inwards.		Outwards.	
Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	16	2,257	162	22,031
1833	22	3,516	181	25,289
1834	28	3,720	100	12,885

Years.	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1835	45	5,601	131	54,971
1836	56	8,063	166	21,878
1837	55	10,299	199	30,911
1838	79	20,375	248	44,510
1839	117	25,920	260	43,665
1840	101	33,099	280	45,450
1841	100	23,314	261	47,007

Malta also is chiefly valuable as a military possession, and is the head-quarters of the British naval force stationed in the Mediterranean. The island was taken by us from the French in September, 1800, and by the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens was to be delivered up to the Knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem ; but war again breaking out before the cession had been completed, this article of the treaty was left unfulfilled, and Malta has since continued in the possession of the British.

The area of Malta is ninety-five square miles, and of Gozo twenty-seven square miles. The population in 1839 was :—

	MALTA.			Gozo.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Natives . . .	45,698	49,893	95,591	8,144	8,305	16,449
British residents	1,315	799	2,114	10	13	23
Aliens . . .	3,702	959	4,661	..	..	..
Queen's troops, with their fol- lowers .	2,458	632	3,090	..	..	..
	<hr/> 53,173	<hr/> 52,283	<hr/> 105,456	<hr/> 8,154	<hr/> 8,318	<hr/> 16,472
Total population,—Males				61,327		
„ Females				60,601		
				<hr/>	<hr/> 121,928	

The exports of British manufactures to these islands in fifteen years, to 1841, were of the following value :—

	£.		£.		£.
1527	200,949	1532	96,994	1837	103,680
1528	239,458	1833	135,438	1838	226,040
1529	224,010	1834	242,696	1839	125,338
1830	189,135	1835	136,925	1840	166,545
1831	134,519	1836	143,015	1841	223,734

The revenue of the government of Malta, derived from various sources, was as follows in 1837, stated in round numbers :—

	£.
Rents of Crown lands	23,000
Small internal taxes—chiefly licences for exercising trades—a tax on the transfer of real property, and auction duty	2,400
Fees of court and government offices, postage of letters, receipts of government printing-office, fines, &c.	5,200
Duties on imports, tonnage and quarantine dues	65,000
	<hr/>
	£ 95,600

Of the 65,000*l.* customs duties, 35,000*l.* arose from the import of grain. Under the government of the Knights of St. John, the former rulers of Malta, the inhabitants were furnished with grain and other articles of food by a corporate body, or *università*, which had the monopoly of the commodities in which it dealt, and fixed the prices on them in the island. This system was continued by the British government, so far as respects the price of grain, until 1822, the management of the purchases and sales having been transferred in 1818 from the *università* to a body called Commissioners of the Board of Supply. This body was suppressed in 1822, when the commerce in grain was thrown open upon a payment of a fixed duty, and a new department of government was created, called the grain department, charged with buying and keeping a stock of grain, in

order to guard against scarcity and high prices. In 1824, a graduated scale of duties, varying monthly with the prices, was substituted for the fixed duty of 1822. In the beginning of 1837 the system of keeping a stock of grain was abandoned by the government, and the supply of the island was opened entirely to private enterprise. The quantity required every year for the supply of the island is about 73,000 salms or quarters, so that the duty is equal to nearly 10s. per quarter.

The “sliding scale” of duties on wheat established in December, 1832, and continued till October, 1837, was as under :—

When the average price of foreign wheat per salm (or quarter) was—						Duty.	
						s.	d.
At or under 25s.						12	0
Above 25s. and not exceeding 30s.						11	0
„ 30	„	35	. . .			10	0
„ 35	„	40	. . .			9	0
„ 40	„	45	. . .			8	0
„ 45	„	50	. . .			7	0
„ 50	„	55	. . .			6	0
„ 55	„	60	. . .			5	0
„ 60	„	65	. . .			3	0
„ 65 . . . . .			. . .			1	0

The *average* rate of duty received under this scale, during four years, 1833 to 1836, was 10s. 3½d. ; and the yearly average quantity taken for consumption was 57,981 salms, or quarters. The duty since October, 1837, has been fixed at 10s. per quarter.

Among the sources of government revenue may be noticed “receipts of government printing-office.” This calls for some explanation. Up to the beginning of 1838, no person was allowed to exercise the trade of a printer, or to use a printing-press, without the licence of the government, which would grant no such licence except

to the government commissariat department, to be used for the public service of that department, and to the Church Missionary Society, the society binding itself to submit everything printed by it for the approval of the government, before publication. Two presses, set up without the licence, one in 1810, the other in 1827, were taken possession of by the government. The carefulness of the government as regards printing thus went far beyond the strictest censorship, and amounted to an absolute monopoly. This system of Vandalism was abolished through the urgent recommendation of British commissioners, who were sent in 1836 to inquire into various matters connected with the government of Malta.

Such a system was clearly indefensible upon every ground. As a matter of profit it was an absolute failure, the press having never earned its expenses, although the rate of charges made to the public was exorbitant. As an act of tyranny it was far less justifiable, and exposed the government to much odium, while it gave a colour to surmises and imputations for which no real grounds existed. It hindered effectually the diffusion of knowledge, and tended to perpetuate the ignorance, and with it many mischievous prejudices, among the native population. The relaxation of this odious restriction has not hitherto been accompanied by any of the evils predicted by those who advocated its continuance.

The fixed civil and judicial establishments in Malta consisted, in 1838, of—

	£.	s.
24 English persons, with salaries amounting to	7,716	14
577 Maltese	25,845	18
	<hr/>	
Together. .	£33,562	12

The agricultural produce of the islands of Malta and

Gozo, in 1839, and the area from which each description was raised, were as follows:—

Description.	Area in Acres.	Quantity Produced.
Wheat . . .	9,951	17,453 quarters.
Meslin . . .	9,144	26,042 „
Barley . . .	4,051	11,641 „
Pulse . . .	3,206	7,614 „
Sesamum . . .	493	488 „
Garden produce	4,354	125,816 cwts.
Cummin seed .	418	1,461 „
Cotton . . .	10,898	32,602 „
Forage . . .	7,594	208,778 bushels.
Pasture . . .	4,607	..
<hr/>		
In crop . . .	54,716	
Uncultivated .	46,810	
<hr/>		
Total		101,526 acres.

The number of stock in the same year was:—

Horses, mules, and asses . . .	4,447
Horned cattle	5,661
Sheep	8,851
Goats	2,935

The number and tonnage of shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and Malta, in each of the ten years ending with 1841, were as follows:—

Years.	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	6	726	35	6,023
1833	8	890	62	9,450
1834	9	1,219	86	13,006
1835	7	1,003	70	11,128
1836	7	1,113	81	11,816
1837	11	1,889	77	14,996
1838	22	3,393	181	33,626
1839	33	5,667	152	30,835
1840	15	3,531	157	35,379
1841	76	10,628	277	53,885

At the opening of the present century, the seven islands known as the Ionian Isles were nominally under the joint protection of Turkey and Russia, the latter power exercising, in effect, all the privileges of sovereignty over them. By the connivance of the Emperor Alexander, they soon passed under the dominion of France, but in the progress of the war then raging in Europe, the chief of them were taken by England. At the general peace in 1815 this country was constituted their protector, and the possessor of the British Crown has since been, in effect, sovereign of these islands also.

In 1817 a constitution was granted to these seven islands (collectively with other smaller islands, situated along the coast of Albania and the Morea, and which formerly belonged to the dominions of Venice), under the title of "The United States of the Ionian Islands." By this Act the seat of government was fixed in the capital of Corfu; the Greek religion was declared the established religion, but all other forms of Christian worship were protected. The civil government of the States was declared to be composed of "a legislative assembly, a senate, and a judicial authority." The members of the legislative assembly to be elected "from the body of noble electors," who must not follow any trade or business,—the senators to be elected out of the body of the legislative assembly,—and the judicial authority to be selected by the senate, and approved by the Lord High Commissioner of the protecting Sovereign. This last-named functionary is appointed by the British government, and performs in all respects the duties of a viceroy or governor of a British colony. The Lord High Commissioner has always been a British-born subject. The legislative assembly consists of a president and thirty-nine members, and the senate of a president and

five senators, the president being selected for appointment by the Lord High Commissioner.

The area and population in 1840 of the seven islands were :—

	Area in Square Miles.	POPULATION.				Grand Total.
		Native.			Aliens and Resident Strangers.	
		Males.	Females.	Total.		
Corfu	227	35,447	30,287	65,734	9,600	75,334
Cephalonia . .	311	34,746	28,638	63,384	1,252	64,636
Zante	1604	21,773	18,180	39,953	946	40,899
Santa Maura . .	156	9,196	8,041	17,240	210	17,450
Ithaca	44	5,239	5,022	10,261	362	10,623
Cerigo. . . .	116	4,510	4,922	9,432	15	9,447
Paxo	26	2,520	2,292	4,812	148	4,960
	1,0404	113,431	97,385	210,816	12,533	223,349

The declared value of British manufactures sent from the United Kingdom to these dependencies during each of the fifteen years from 1827 to 1841 was as follows :—

£.	£.	£.
1827 37,196	1832 55,725	1837 124,465
1828 41,078	1833 38,915	1838 96,100
1829 30,465	1834 94,498	1839 64,010
1830 56,963	1835 107,804	1840 89,204
1831 50,883	1836 104,123	1841 119,523

The number and tonnage of shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and the Ionian Islands, during the same years, were :—

Years.	Entered Inwards.		Cleared Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1827	54	7,721	21	3,974
1828	52	7,642	33	5,149
1829	38	5,326	25	4,532
1830	32	4,304	38	5,513
1831	60	8,482	36	5,530
1832	48	6,694	23	3,143
1833	61	8,076	30	4,125

Years.	Entered Inwards.		Cleared Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1834	62	8,469	42	5,753
1835	60	8,896	42	6,655
1836	46	6,527	31	6,182
1837	71	9,550	42	7,168
1838	47	6,419	30	4,605
1839	60	8,215	28	4,261
1840	56	7,431	45	7,944
1841	42	5,687	41	6,432

The chief part of our exports to these islands consists of cotton goods and refined sugar. The imports are confined almost entirely to three articles, viz., currants, olive oil, and Valonia.

A considerable trade is carried on between these islands and various ports in the Mediterranean. The tonnage, under various flags, that entered and cleared from the islands in 1840, was as follows:—

	Inwards.	Outwards.
	Tons.	Tons.
Ionian (inter-insular traffic)	121,777	125,412
British	29,232	32,243
Austrian	42,663	40,031
Russian	16,832	15,052
French	771	771
Neapolitan	5,971	5,230
Papal.	720	504
Sardinian	4,136	4,341
Greek	46,250	39,972
Turkish	3,632	3,787
All others	4,037	4,130
	276,021	271,473

The principal exports in that year (1840) consisted of—

- 668,711 gallons olive oil.
- 22,719,990 lbs. currants.
- 131,976 gallons wine.
- 1,139,503 lbs. soap.

Some manufactures are carried on of common earthen-ware, silks, shawls, coarse linen, coarse woollen blankets, goats'-hair carpets and sackings. The chief productions, besides the foregoing articles, are,—wheat, maize, barley, oats, pulse, cotton, and flax.

The most productive branch of revenue is the export duty on oil and currants. The collections under these heads, in 1840, amounted to 71,765*l.* The duty on imports yielded 35,591*l.*; stamp duties 13,481*l.* The total revenues for the year amounted to 157,625, and the expenditure was 159,293*l.*, of which sum 73,221*l.* was the cost of civil and judicial establishments. The charge defrayed out of the public purse for education was 10,550*l.*; the hospitals cost 8210*l.*, and 17,117*l.* were expended in maintaining roads and bridges.

For the sum mentioned of 10,550*l.*, there were instructed in 159 schools (including one university, one ecclesiastical seminary, one college, and one lyceum) 6527 scholars, of which number only 871 were females. In each of the islands there is a “secondary school,” supported at the public expense, in which instruction is given in classical literature and modern languages, together with the more ordinary branches of tuition. In the chief town of each island there is a “central school,” also at the public charge, in which the Lancasterian system of teaching is followed. The whole of the establishments for education to which contributions are made from the public purse are placed under the general direction of a “commission for public instruction.”

Heligoland, a small island in the North Sea, situated in 54° 11' N. lat., and 7° 51' E. long., came first into the possession of England in 1807, and was formally ceded to us at the peace of 1814. The island is about a mile long from north to south, and about a third of a mile

wide. It is of some commercial utility from its position. The church and lighthouse are useful as beacons ; but its principal advantage consists in its being a rendezvous for pilots to vessels bound to the Elbe, the Eyder, and the Weser.

The possession of Heligoland offered much greater advantages at the time of its acquisition than it has since afforded. During the continuance of what was called the continental system, Heligoland was most usefully employed as a *depôt* for our manufactured goods and colonial produce, whence they could be introduced in small quantities, and as opportunities could be made, into the neighbouring continent. The extent to which this smuggling trade was carried on from this spot during the continuance of the Berlin and Milan decrees serves to show how hopeless it must be on the part of any government to impose shackles upon commerce, when the profits to be derived from their evasion are considerable.

The island is thickly inhabited, its numbers being about 2200. The natives are of Frisian descent, and are a fine race of people. The climate is as mild as that of the midland counties of England, and the air is considered healthy. Within the last few years many invalids from Germany, Poland, and Russia, have resorted to it for the sake of its baths, which have acquired some degree of celebrity.

CHAPTER III.

DEPENDENCIES IN ASIA.

Origin and Progress of our Indian Empire—Circumstances under which its Growth has occurred—War of Aggression against Affghanistan ; its sinister consequences—Trading Monopoly of the East India Company ; its Relaxation and subsequent Abandonment—Amount of Trade between England and India—Quantities imported of various Articles of Indian Produce—Great Commercial Resources of India—Probability of obtaining Supplies of Products hitherto procured from the Baltic ; Wool, Flax, Tallow, Oil-seeds—Shipping—Trade of Bengal ; of Madras ; of Bombay—Public Revenues and Expenditure of British India—Public Debt—Constitution of Anglo-Indian Government—Board of Control ; its unlimited Power—Successive acquisitions of Territory in India—Wealth drawn Yearly from India to England. CEYLON : its Position and Acquisition—Population—Increased production of Coffee. COCOA-NUT TREE : its various Products and their Advantages. CINNAMON : Monopoly abolished—Pearl Fishery—Gems and Metals—Manufactures—Trade. MAURITIUS : Population—Sugar Production—Trade with England and other Countries.

THE origin and progress of the British Empire in India is altogether a case without precedent in the history of nations. It would be interesting in a high degree, could we here trace that progress, so important in its consequences to our country ; but a slight sketch of its more remarkable features is all that can be offered in this volume.

This eastern empire—now so vast in its extent and so important in all its circumstances, both social and political—originated in the subscriptions, trifling in amount,

of a few private individuals, which were advanced for the prosecution of a mercantile adventure. This event took place in 1599. The capital then subscribed amounted to no more than to 30,000*l.*, and was divided into 101 shares. At the end of the following year the adventurers obtained a royal charter, constituting them a corporation for fifteen years, and under which the management of the joint-stock was confided to twenty-four members chosen by the proprietors from among their own body, this committee being renewed by a fresh election every year.

The objects of the company were at first strictly confined to commercial adventure, for the more effectual prosecution of which the capital was enlarged from time to time until in 1618 it amounted to two millions. The company had obtained in 1611 from the mogul permission to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga; in return for which indulgence it agreed to pay to him an export duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the value of all its shipments. The authority under which the company first exercised any of the functions of government was conveyed in 1624, by the permission of the King of England, to punish its servants, while abroad, either by civil or by martial law.

In 1661 a new charter was granted to the company, whereby its privileges were confirmed, and authority was given to make peace with or war against any princes and people "not being Christians."

Bombay, which came into the hands of Charles the Second as part of the marriage portion of Catharine of Portugal, having proved a costly appendage to the crown, was made over to the company in 1688 with authority to exercise all the powers necessary for its defence and government; and this territory it holds of the crown "in

free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of ten pounds in gold on the 30th September in each year."

In 1664 an attack made by the chief of the Maharrattas on Surat was successfully resisted by the servants of the company, and this was the first occasion upon which the company was brought into hostile collision with any of the native powers of India.

Nearly a century elapsed from this time before any further territorial acquisitions were made by the company. In 1757 Masulipatam was taken by its forces; and in the same year the Nabob of Bengal, Meer Jaffier, ceded to it a district in the vicinity of Calcutta called "the Twenty-four Pergunnahs;" four years later it obtained, by cession from Mahomed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic, Madras, Fort St. David, some settlements in the Northern Circars, and a district near Madras called "the Seven Magans."

The growth of our political power in India up to this period is chiefly attributable to a grant made in 1652 by the mogul of a licence to carry on an unlimited trade throughout the province of Bengal without the payment of any duties, and which licence was obtained at the insignificant cost of 3000 rupees, through the influence of a medical gentleman whose skill had been successfully employed at the court of the mogul. A far more important step was gained when, on the 12th August, 1765, the Mogul Shah Allum granted to the company the "dewanny," or collection of the revenue of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. This grant gave to the company the virtual sovereignty of those extensive provinces. A further grant in the same year, by that sovereign, of the Northern Circars, was at first resisted on the part of the Nizam or Soubahdar of the Deccan, but

was confirmed by that ruler on the 12th November, 1766, the company agreeing to pay him seven lacs of rupees, or 70,000*l.* per annum,—which sum was redeemed in 1823 by the payment of 1,670,000*l.*

In 1775 Benares was ceded to the company; and in August, 1778, Chandernagore, Masulipatam, and Carical, were taken by us from the French: later in the same year Pondicherry also surrendered to the English. In 1780 possession was taken of Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat, and a great part of the country of the Maharattas. In 1782 the island of Salsette, near Bombay, was ceded to the company. In 1792 one-half of his dominions was wrested from the Rajah of Mysore, and divided by Lord Cornwallis between the company, the Nizam, and the Peishwa,—Malabar, Dindigul, Salem, and Baramahal falling to the lot of the former. On the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo Sultan, in 1799, the remaining Mysore territories were divided between the Nizam and the English; the southern portion was taken by the company, whose territory was thus made to reach from shore to shore of the Deccan. In the following year the part of Mysore ceded to the Nizam came by treaty into our possession. Rohilcund and the Lower Dooab were obtained for the company from the Soubahdar of Oude in 1801, and in 1802 Furruckabad was ceded to us by its ruler on receipt of a pension. In the following year we acquired by conquest Alighur, Delhi, Agra, Ahmednuggur, Boorhanpore, Gawilghur, Baroach, Powanghur, Manickpatam, and Kuttack; and in 1805 we acquired by cession some districts in Guzerat. Several years of peace then occurred, and there are no further conquests to record until 1815, when we obtained as the result of a successful war with the Nepaulese the provinces of Kumaon and Gurwahl, with a territory called

the Terrace at the foot of the Nepaul hills. In 1817 we gained from the Peishwa, Saugur, Huttah, and Darwar; and from the Guickwar we obtained Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujerat. In 1818 we got possession of the provinces of Kandeish, Ajmere, Poonah and North Konkun, and the South Maharatta country; and in 1820 further obtained the Southern Konkun. Early in 1824 war commenced between the English and the King of Ava; and at its termination two years after, we were confirmed in the possession of Arracan, Assam, Martaban, Tarvy, and Mergui, with the islands of Cheduba and Ramree.

By tracing on the map these various acquisitions of territory, it will be seen that nearly the whole of the peninsula of Hindostan has fallen under our dominion. Of the parts which are not in our immediate possession, all which by their geographical position are important to our security are virtually ours, their rulers being under British protection, or, in other words, under British direction and control. Our power is in effect "paramount over every native state from the Indus to Cape Comorin, since no dispute can arise among any of those states which we are not, by treaty, authorized to arbitrate."

The growth of this empire has occurred not only without the design of those under whose rule it has been effected, but even in opposition to their positive and oft-repeated injunctions to their servants in India. The most strenuous and repeated inhibition of all measures that might increase the territorial possessions of the East India Company has, on almost every occasion, been conveyed to its servants by the Court of Directors. In 1768 that court enforced the necessity for confining the boundaries of their possessions within the limits of the provinces of Bengal, the Jaghire of Madras, and the island of Bombay. "If," they observed, "we once pass these

bounds, we shall be led from one acquisition to another till we shall find no security but in the subjection of the whole, which, by dividing the British force, would lose us the whole, and end in our extirpation from Hindostan. The first part of this prediction has been fully verified, but its forebodings of evil do not appear likely to be accomplished, so long as we shall limit our desires to the possession of India itself, applying ourselves to call forth its resources by means fully within our power, and if we shall let our rule over its hundred millions of people be strictly in accordance with the spirit of justice and benevolence. India has now been internally at peace during the unusually long period of seventeen years, and should have been allowed to reap the advantages growing out of that condition ; for by no employment or perversion of words can it be made to appear that our irruption into Afghanistan, undertaken for no Indian object, and prosecuted without the sanction of the recognized rulers of India—nay, for a long time, even without their knowledge—was an Indian war. Unhappily, however, India has to bear many of the evils of that mysterious invasion. Not the least among those evils is the waste of the company's resources, whereby a check has been given to various plans for improving the communications, and calling forth the natural wealth of the country,—objects of the deepest importance, not to India only but to the whole British empire.

Up to the year 1814 the East India Company had a monopoly of the trade with India. In that year, on the renewal of its charter, this privilege was taken away and the trade was thrown open to the individual enterprise of British merchants. The trade with China remained wholly in the hands of the company until 1833, when its charter was last renewed, and the company was restricted from

carrying on, upon its own account, any commercial operations whatever. The result of these relaxations has been highly advantageous to the trade of England, as will appear from an examination of the following statement.

The value of the trade between the United Kingdom and India (not including China), in each year, from 1814 to 1832, was as follows :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1814	£8,643,275	£1,874,690
1815	8,136,167	2,565,761
1816	6,429,785	2,589,455
1817	6,865,586	3,388,715
1818	9,206,147	3,572,164
1819	6,615,768	2,347,083
1820	5,958,526	3,037,911
1821	4,775,146	3,544,395
1822	3,713,663	3,444,443
1823	5,932,051	3,416,255
1824	5,605,100	3,496,578
1825	6,178,775	3,173,213
1826	6,730,926	3,471,552
1827	5,681,017	4,636,190
1828	7,065,180	4,467,673
1829	6,218,284	4,100,264
1830	5,679,071	4,087,311
1831	5,729,810	3,635,051
1832	6,337,098	3,750,286

No account has been furnished since 1832, whereby the value of our importations from India can be shown. The declared value of British produce and manufactures exported to that quarter in each year from 1833 to 1841 has been :—

1833	£3,495,301 (including China.)
1834	2,578,569
1835	3,192,692
1836	4,285,829
1837	3,612,975
1838	3,876,196

1839	£4,478,607
1840	6,023,192
1841	5,595,000

The quantities of some of the more important articles imported from India in those years have been :—

	Coffee.	Cotton Piece Goods.	Lac Dye.	Shellac.	Hemp.
Years.	lbs.	Pieces.	lbs.	lbs.	Cwts.
1833	5,734,820	290,333	299,405	770,544	34,008
1834	8,875,961	268,877	696,339	941,179	52,035
1835	5,182,856	293,580	528,490	1,179,899	40,854
1836	9,514,441	368,160	547,053	1,372,519	18,380
1837	9,806,123	414,450	990,560	2,194,938	168,386
1838	7,785,963	204,271	1,093,179	2,659,827	107,994
1839	9,820,550	348,446	1,166,562	3,176,167	138,301
1840	16,885,698	349,961	1,254,037	2,828,632	55,583
1841	15,896,624	139,472	1,221,308	3,244,352	72,469

	Hides.	Indigo.	Pepper.	Rice.	Paddy.
Years.	Cwts.	lbs.	lbs.	Cwts.	Bushels.
1833	29,337	6,315,529	7,298,925	179,370	8,012
1834	31,213	3,616,022	7,131,133	276,968	25,246
1835	41,964	3,878,404	2,807,014	233,041	29,426
1836	40,883	7,222,331	6,777,892	145,180	1,704
1837	40,714	5,721,554	4,150,534	352,834	17,451
1838	37,474	6,579,142	3,326,990	203,896	13,050
1839	63,533	4,654,226	9,090,898	419,319	8,938
1840	52,559	6,940,192	5,814,756	320,752	4,339
1841	86,044	7,456,617	14,784,497	397,535	1,336

	Sago.	Saltpetre.	Linseed.	Silk.	Silk Goods.
Years.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Bushels.	lbs.	Pieces.
1833	7,665	143,434	2,163	989,619	298,580
1834	25,683	257,680	2,826	1,798,641	375,238
1835	19,101	194,119	127,416	1,105,367	382,519
1836	24,809	177,938	275,168	1,450,282	332,402
1837	15,288	222,606	126,532	1,298,042	504,458
1838	18,172	234,048	78,572	1,151,407	493,893
1839	20,673	272,429	163,958	1,388,070	477,483
1840	51,882	183,603	207,869	1,108,471	556,591
1841	75,847	261,552	199,322	1,175,314	387,392

	Rum.	Sugar.	Tobacco.	Cotton.	Sheep's Wool.
Years.	Galls.	Cwts.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1833	27	153,994	2,849	32,755,164	3,721
1834	537	101,997	6,570	32,920,865	67,763
1835	14,068	137,976	11,747	41,429,011	295,848
1836	38,139	171,758	44,498	75,949,845	1,086,393
1837	67,064	302,945	45,393	51,532,072	1,880,741
1838	53,309	474,100	206,103	40,217,734	1,897,266
1839	170,385	587,142	139,616	47,172,939	2,103,546
1840	311,968	498,730	256,476	77,011,839	2,441,370
1841	1,006,712	1,271,582	137,021	97,388,153	3,008,664

It will be seen, on comparing the quantities brought during the later years of the series with the earlier importations, how great an increase has been made in almost every article. Some important branches of the trade may be said to have been created since the year in which the charter of the East India Company was last renewed, and when its existence as a commercial body was made to cease altogether. Thus we find that linseed, rum, tobacco, and sheep's wool, which, previously to 1833, did not enter into the trade between India and England, have now become articles of considerable importance. The quantity of coffee is nearly trebled; but the greater part of this increase proceeds from the extension of the culture of coffee-trees in Ceylon, which followed upon the assimilation, in 1835, of the duties upon East India and West India coffee. The quantities of lac dye and shellac, respectively, have been quadrupled. Hemp is more than doubled, and hides are increased three-fold. Indigo has not undergone any material alteration; but the quantities of pepper and of rice are doubled. The sugar trade, from being quite insignificant, has lately become one of the most important branches of commerce; and the supply of cotton has augmented with a satisfactory rapidity, being now three times as great as it was in 1833.

Important as are these results, there is good reason for asserting that we shall hereafter arrive at a far more satisfactory condition as respects our Indian commerce. It would appear, from recent investigations, that we are now only beginning to appreciate at anything approaching to their just value the material resources of Hindostan. The idea of obtaining sheep's wool from British India would, a very few years ago, have been treated as an idle dream; and yet we see that in 1841 we imported thence, of that important material of manufacture, more than three millions of pounds. It has usually been held that cold climates are best suited to the production of fine wool, but this belief is seen to be erroneous. Dr. Forbes Royle justly remarks, that "fine-wool countries, such as Spain and Tibet, Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and the Cape of Good Hope, have rather dry climates, with a warm summer and a cold winter.* The coasts and plains of Bengal are not well suited to the production of wool, but "the table-land of the peninsula, beginning with the Neelgherrie hills, and proceeding along Mysore to the Deccan, Candeish, and Guzerat, presents large tracts of country affording a favourable climate, and abundant pastures for numerous flocks of sheep."† Marwar, Malwa, Rajpootana, Hurriana, and the province of Delhi, have natural pastures which support numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. The wool of the latter is employed by the natives in making blankets, of different degrees of fineness, which form a considerable article of commerce. The Himalaya mountains likewise support on their southern face a fine breed of sheep. The great pastoral countries of Cabool and Bokhara might afford an almost unlimited supply of fine wool;

* 'Essay on the Productive Resources of India,' page 163.

† Dr. Royle 'On the Productive Resources of India,' page 140.

and, although not the produce of British industry, its collection would prove an important branch of commerce to our merchants in the western districts of India, while payment for it would doubtless be made chiefly in British manufactures.

The rice of Bengal has hitherto been considered very inferior to that of America, and was unable to bear successful competition with it, even under a "protecting" duty of a penny halfpenny per pound; so that when it was proposed by the tariff of 1842 to reduce this "protection" by 8s. 6d. per cwt., or very nearly a penny per pound, it was confidently predicted that the trade would be annihilated. To avert this evil an intelligent and enterprising merchant forthwith took measures for improving the quality and appearance of the shipments from Bengal; and from the success that has attended his first efforts in that direction there is every reason to believe that, ere long, the rice of India will be in every respect equal in appearance to that of Carolina, and that it will command as high a price in our markets.

Some experiments on a respectable scale have recently been begun in Burdwan for the production of flax, the finer qualities of which are every year becoming more scarce and dear in Europe, and we may hope that this important material of manufacture will ere long be added to the list of our importations from India. Tallow has already been imported thence of so good a quality that it realized within 10 per cent. of the price obtained for the finest St. Petersburg tallow. Besides these articles, India could furnish an almost unlimited supply of seeds, yielding oils of excellent quality for food, or light, or manufacturing processes; and considerable supplies of the finest timber may be procured from Oude and Goruckpore, the coast of Malabar, and the east coast of the Bay of Bengal.

By opening new channels of communication, and by improving such as already exist, the internal and external commerce of our Indian empire may be almost indefinitely increased, to the advantage of the millions who have been subjected to our sway by the sword, and to whom we owe this reparation for the miseries that have been inflicted by our conquest,—a reparation which must at the same time bring equal advantages to the United Kingdom in the increasing employment that must thus be afforded to our continually multiplying artisans.

The number and tonnage of shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and its dependencies in India in each year from 1833 to 1841 have been as follows:—

Years.	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1833	182	76,820	204	83,769
1834	186	75,461	197	90,833
1835	216	89,449	219	96,157
1836	228	97,371	267	117,784
1837	282	119,069	231	106,927
1838	233	106,004	243	117,824
1839	310	138,486	264	125,620
1840	288	137,883	380	179,204
1841	444	207,075	461	215,421

A very large trade is carried on from the settlements in British India in addition to that with the United Kingdom. In each of the last two years for which the accounts are accessible, the value of the imports and exports of *Bengal*, exclusive of those from and to England, was as follows:—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1838-39	£2,311,601	£3,913,138
1839-40	2,677,388	3,218,527

In the year ending 30th April, 1840, the shipping which

entered and cleared from the port of Calcutta (exclusive of 425 British vessels of 157,475 tons which entered, and 437 vessels of 165,500 tons which cleared) was as follows :—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
French . .	49	15,254	48	14,995
Dutch . .	8	1,992	6	1,315
Spanish . .	1	100	1	100
Bremen . .	..	..	1	250
American . .	23	9,759	25	10,072
Arab . .	13	6,526	12	5,685
Chinese . .	1	400	..	..
Dhoonies . .	55	5,032	55	5,032
Total	150	39,063	148	37,449

The trade of *Madras*, exclusive of that carried on with England, for the two years 1838-39 and 1839-40, was to the following amounts :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1838-39	£1,118,296	£2,219,076
1839-40	997,084	2,413,173

The shipping that arrived at and departed from the port of Madras in the year 1839-40 was as follows :—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
British . .	1,992	115,520	2,699	159,315
French . .	25	5,944	42	10,307
Danish . .	2	152	1	24
Dutch . .	3	612	5	1,169
Portuguese . .	219	5,184	183	4,565
American . .	2	1,016	3	1,385
Arab . .	160	21,486	249	31,512
Native . .	3,023	185,551	3,485	211,935
Total	5,426	335,465	6,667	420,212

The imports and exports of the *Bombay* presidency, exclusive of the trade with the United Kingdom, in each

of the three years from 1839-40 to 1841-2, were of the following value :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1839-40	£3,744,898	£4,622,538
1840-41	7,501,127	6,140,014
1841-42	6,352,903	5,880,134

The shipping, inwards and outwards, in the year ending 30th April, 1839, was :—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
British . .	228	97,043	228	100,095
French . .	10	2,554	9	2,539
Portuguese .	3	630	5	1,335
Dutch . .	1	780	2	1,508
American .	3	649	4	909
Swedish . .	..	..	1	134
Total	245	101,656	249	106,520

The public revenues and the charges of government in India, in each of the four years from 1837-38 to 1840-41, were as follows :—

REVENUES.

Years.	Bengal & Agra.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	Extraordinary Receipt from Commercial Assets.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1837-38	12,586,629	4,517,271	2,426,779	19,530,679	718,705
1838-39	12,929,844	4,643,458	2,238,258	19,811,560	460,806
1839-40	11,937,412	4,665,374	2,255,934	18,858,720	31,033
1840-41	12,171,931	4,609,067	2,632,405	19,413,403	1,829

CHARGES.

Years.	Allowances under Treaties with Native Princes.	Interest of Debt.	Charges exclusive of Interest of Debt.	Charges in England on Indian Account.	Total Charges in India and England.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1837-38	1,508,688	1,365,381	13,571,847	2,304,445	18,750,361
1838-39	1,620,101	1,388,506	14,505,715	2,615,465	20,129,787
1839-40	1,596,377	1,340,771	15,188,675	2,578,966	20,704,789
1840-41	1,609,400	1,481,787	15,742,359	2,625,776	21,459,322

The first of these years exhibits a considerable surplus of revenue over expenditure (1,499,023*l.*), which in the following year was reduced to 142,579*l.*, doubtless by the preparations for the invasion of Cabool. In the two remaining years there appear deficiencies amounting to 1,815,036*l.* and 2,044,090*l.*, the consequences of that ill-fated proceeding.

The revenues of the East India Company are chiefly derived from the land. The other chief branches of revenue are customs, stamps, post-office, and the monopolies of salt and opium. The sums collected under these heads, at intervals of ten years, during the present century, have been as follows :—

	1809-10	1819-20	1829-30	1839-40
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Land revenues	10,050,142	11,516,193	12,018,354	12,480,854
Customs . .	795,425	1,303,927	1,540,662	1,166,751
Stamps . .	61,194	183,535	351,790	400,959
Post-office .	58,585	72,376	111,476	131,606
Salt monopoly	1,514,617	1,646,628	1,752,003	2,321,556
Opium monopoly	646,485	632,755	1,225,905	417,140

The remainder of the company's revenue is drawn from marine and pilotage dues, mint duties, tributes and subsidies from native governments, revenues from Prince of Wales' Island and other eastern settlements, and from some unimportant miscellaneous sources.

The wars in which the East India Company has at various times been engaged have occasioned it to contract a large amount of debt. The amount of this at various periods, from 1815 to the present time, has been as follows :—

Registered debt of India		
on the 1st May,	1815	£22,353,657
„	„ 1820	26,158,357
„	„ 1825	20,180,492

Registered debt of India			
on the 1st May, 1830			£30,401,381
"	"	1835	31,326,150
"	"	1836	26,947,434
"	"	1837	27,280,286
"	"	1838	26,525,448
"	"	1839	26,406,376
"	"	1840	26,559,854

In addition to the "registered debt," the company was, on 1st May, 1840, indebted for temporary loans and deposits for sums which raised the amount of its public debts bearing interest in India to 30,703,778*l.*, the yearly charge in respect of which was 1,447,453*l.* In addition to this burthen, it has bonds outstanding in England, and bearing interest, which on the 1st May, 1842, amounted to 1,756,592*l.*, the yearly interest on which amounted to 62,730*l.* The revenues of India are further chargeable with 630,000*l.* per annum, dividends to proprietors of East India stock, in addition to all the charges, ordinary and extraordinary, civil, military, and and judicial, of the Indian empire.

The government of India is ostensibly confided to the hands of twenty-four gentlemen, chosen for that purpose by the proprietors from among their own body. Down to the year 1773, the Court of Directors, thus chosen, were the uncontrolled sovereigns of British India; but in that year parliament passed an Act, under which a Governor-General was appointed to reside in Bengal, and a supreme court of judicature was established, with judges appointed by the Crown, and in other ways the management of the directors was brought under the *surveillance* of the state. In 1784 Mr. Pitt's India Bill was passed, which brought the government of India more completely within the power of the ministry by the establishment of a Board of Control for the affairs of

India, which board is composed of six members, selected by the Crown, to superintend the territorial concerns (since 1833 the only concerns) of the company. The governor-general of India, presidents, and members of council, are under this Act appointed by the directors, but subject to the approval of the government; and the commander-in-chief of the army employed in India is chosen by the Crown, without any interference on the part of the directors. The power of recalling the governor-general was subsequently granted to the Crown, so that his appointment is virtually and substantially the act of the ministry of the day.

The Board of Control, although by Act of Parliament it is composed of six members, is practically an office administered by one member, its president, who has a seat in the "cabinet," and is essentially a Secretary of State for the Indian Department. This important functionary is, in fact, the supreme governor of India, using the Court of Directors as the instruments of his will, and exercising, under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, a power over the destinies of that part of the British empire greater far than the monarch can legally exert in that or any other quarter. It is the duty of the President of the Board of Control to inspect all letters passing to and from India, between the directors and their servants, which have any connexion with territorial management or political relations; to alter, to amend, or to keep back despatches prepared by the directors, and, if he shall see fit, to transmit orders to the functionaries of the company in India, without the concurrence or even without the knowledge of the ostensible governors of India. Any orders which he may send to the India House marked "secret and political" are seen only by three members of the Court of Directors, who form a

“ Committee of Secrecy,” and who are sworn to secrecy not only as regards the public at large, but even against their own colleagues. This secret committee is further bound, immediately and without question, to transmit those orders to India, and the servants of the company are bound to put them in execution also without question or delay.

It must be superfluous to point out the manner and degree in which a power so unlimited and so despotic might be used to the injury, and even to the destruction, of the highest political interests of the country. That the legislature should have clothed with it any person who might be selected by the Crown, exhibits a degree of confidence in the integrity of public men which is hardly to be justified upon any ground short of the belief that they are placed above and beyond the frailties and temptations that assail humanity.

The territories comprised within the sovereignty of the East India Company, and the dates of their acquisition, are seen by the following list:—

1668. Bombay.	1799. Coimbatore, Canara, Wynaad, and Tanjore.
1757. The twenty-four Pergunahs.	1800. Nizam's acquisitions from Tippoo Sultan.
1759. Masulipatam, &c.	1801. Carnatic, Goruckpore, Lower Dooab, Bareilly, &c.
1760. Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.	1802. Districts in Bundelcund.
1765. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.	1803. Kuttack, Balasore, Upper Dooab, Delhi, &c.
1765. Jaghire, near Madras.	1805. Districts in Guzerat.
1766. Northern Circars.	1815. Kumaon, and part of Nepaul.
1775. Zamindary of Benares.	1817. Saugur, Huttah, Darwar, &c.
1776. Island of Salsette.	
1778. Nagore.	
1786. Pulo-Penang.	
1788. Guntoor Circar.	
1792. Malabar, Dindigul, Salem, &c.	

1818. Candeish, Ajmere, districts on the Nerbudda, Sumbhulpore, Patna, Poonah, Konkun, Southern Maharratta Country.	1826. Assam, Arracan, Tavoy, Ye, Tennasserim, &c.
1820. Lands in Southern Konkun.	1832. Cachar.
1822. Districts in Bejapore, and Ahmednuggur.	1834. Coorg, Loodhiana, and adjoining district.
1824. Island of Singapore.	1835. Jynteeah.
1825. Malacca.	1839. Aden.
	1840. Kurnoul.
	1841. Jalown.

In addition to the political importance derived from these magnificent possessions, and to the advantages which they offer as a field for commercial enterprise, England draws a direct pecuniary gain from her Indian empire. A great part of the profits and savings of those of her European subjects who make choice of India as the field for their enterprise is transmitted to England, making constant additions to the capital which gives employment to her artisans. The dividends upon the stock of the East India Company paid in England, and which amount to 630,000*l.* per annum, are derived from the land revenues of India, and altogether it has been calculated that the tribute which India pours yearly into the lap of England is at least equal to three millions sterling,—a large sum, but one which, in comparison with the resources of that immense and populous region, is wholly insignificant. There now appears but little ground for apprehending that the attention of the British authorities need be called away from the peaceful administration of its government, and under these circumstances it cannot be unreasonable to expect that the advantages of our rule may be rendered more apparent in future than they have been in past years, both to the natives of India, because of the security against violence and injustice which they may enjoy under it; and to

England, because of the apparently unlimited field for commercial prosperity which it offers, and of which we are now beginning only to suspect the extent.

The island of Ceylon, although placed in almost immediate contact with the continent of India, does not form any part of the dominions of the East India Company, but is in direct dependence on the Crown of England. It lies between $5^{\circ} 54'$ and $9^{\circ} 50'$ N. lat., and $79^{\circ} 50'$ and $82^{\circ} 10'$ E. long. Its length from north to south is 270 miles, and its breadth in the widest part 145 miles. Its area is about 24,700 square miles.

During our war with France, in 1782, we took possession of Trincomalee, on the coast, but it was soon after retaken by the French, and the sea-coast remained in the hands of the Dutch until 1796, when we dispossessed them. In 1798 we were involved in a quarrel with the native king, and took possession of his capital, which, however, we did not long retain at that time. We were obliged to content ourselves with possessing the maritime districts until 1815, when, the king of Candy being deposed by his subjects on account of his cruelties, we were allowed to take possession of the whole island. Some troubles followed; but since 1819 the British sway has remained unquestioned throughout the country.

The population of Ceylon in 1835 comprised the following numbers:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites . .	5,516	3,605	9,121
Free Blacks .	626,465	568,017	1,194,482
Slaves . .	14,108	13,289	27,397
Aliens and resi- dent strangers }	..	..	10,825
	<hr/> 646,089	<hr/> 584,911	<hr/> 1,241,825

The Asiatic or native population consists of four dis-

tinct races, viz. Beddahs or Veddahs, the aboriginal inhabitants, who live in a most primitive state, without clothes or houses, in the great forests, their food consisting of wild fruits and the produce of the chase. Singalese, descended from the Rajpoots of India; these occupy principally Candy and the south-west and south coasts of the island. Malabars, who abound on the north and east coasts; and Mussulman descendants of men from Upper India: these last are dispersed over the island. There are besides a few of various other races; Chinese, Javans, Malays, Caffres, some Parsee traders, and a considerable number of half-caste descendants from native mothers and Europeans fathers; Portuguese, Dutch, and English. The Singalese are Buddhists, and the Malabars are Hindoos.

The island is but thinly inhabited. It is said to have been more populous formerly, and that the number has been continually declining during the last four or five centuries, but it does not clearly appear upon what facts this belief is grounded. By far the largest proportion of the surface of the island is uncultivated and waste. There are a few natives who possess considerable estates in land, some as much as 1000 acres; but the law of inheritance has for the most part caused a minute subdivision of the soil to a degree but little favourable to its improvement. The English government, which claims the proprietorship of all the waste lands, has of late years been disposing of locations by public sale, the object of the purchasers being chiefly the formation of coffee plantations. The quality of Ceylon coffee is very good, and the soil and climate greatly favour the productiveness of the plant. The advantage given to this product in 1835 by admitting Ceylon coffee to consumption in England at the moderate duty charged upon British plantation

coffee has greatly stimulated the production. Already the importations thence are very greatly augmented; but as the plant requires some years of growth before it comes into profitable bearing, we may expect that future supplies from this island will be very far greater than have yet been brought forward.

The quantity of coffee imported into the United Kingdom from Ceylon in each year, from 1835 to 1841, has been as follows:—

1835	1,870,143 lbs.
1836	5,026,504
1837	7,389,921
1838	4,946,356
1839	4,097,493
1840	8,244,816
1841	7,098,543

The further reduction of the consumption duty, in 1842, to 4*d* per lb., while double that rate is imposed upon foreign coffee, will probably tend to stimulate production in Ceylon, at least up to the point of satisfying the increasing demands of our population, since the cost of growing and preparing this article of produce is not greater in Ceylon than in any of the foreign countries and settlements whence supplies could be drawn. The quantity of land adapted to the purpose is unlimited.

Another plant of growing importance to this island is the cocoa-nut tree. The numbers of those trees along the coast are reckoned by millions, each one of which produces from fifty to a hundred nuts in the year. Every part of this tree and of its product is capable of being turned to profitable account, and it yields its fruit at every period of the year—"the enclosed bud, the flower, the immature nut in all the different stages of its progress, and the ripe fruit, all appearing at the same moment on one tree in a continuous course of vegetation."

The flower-bud or *spatha* of this tree yields toddy, which, when fermented and distilled, furnishes arrack of the best quality. Another mode of treating this juice produces *jaggery*, a description of sugar, which, although unfit for exportation, is well adapted for use by the native population. The fibrous husk in which the nut is enveloped is convertible into cordage and carpeting, and is applicable to a great variety of other purposes. The kernel of the nut is used as a nutritious and palatable food; and a large quantity of fixed oil, applicable to a great number of uses, is expressed from it. Large shipments of this oil are made from Ceylon to England, where it is used for illuminating purposes, and for conversion into candles and soap. The leaves of this tree are woven into mats, and are employed for the roofing of houses, being lighter than straw, and equally strong and lasting. The oil, when newly made, is used in the island for culinary purposes; altogether, the cocoa-nut tree has been considered the most important vegetable production of the island.

A product of Ceylon, better known as such in Europe, to which quarter the great bulk of it is shipped, is cinnamon. The Dutch, when they had possession of Ceylon, reserved the trade in this spice as a government monopoly, strictly prohibiting any person from trading in it, and sentencing to confiscation any ship on board of which there should be found more than twenty pounds of cinnamon, unless sent on board by authority of government; and heavy fines were imposed for any quantity less than twenty pounds. The English adopted, and for some years after their conquest of the island adhered to, the system as thus established by the Dutch. A government agent resided at Colombo for managing the trade, and under his direction all the cinnamon collected beyond the quantity that it was thought could be

sold in Europe at a monopoly price was ordered by him to be burnt! This system was altered by the English government in October, 1832, when the trade in cinnamon was declared free, save that it was subjected to a duty on exportation. The pearl fishery is a government monopoly. The places and times where and when it is to be pursued, and the number of boats allowed to engage in it, are announced by advertisement. One-fourth part of the pearl oysters raised are the property of the divers; the remaining three-fourths are sold at public auction. The amount derived from this source of revenue averages about 14,000*l* per annum; it has sometimes reached to nearly three times that sum; in nine years, from 1826 to 1834, it realized 145,000*l*.

Some valuable gems are found in Ceylon; among those the ruby and cat-eye are the best; topaz, sapphire, and crystal are also obtained. Iron is diffused over the greater part of the island; black oxide of manganese is found; and plumbago (carbonate of iron) is obtained in considerable quantity, and exported. Weaving gives employment to many persons. The articles made are handkerchiefs, table-cloths, napkins, towels, sail-cloth, and a coarse kind of cloth used for their dress by the natives. There are also many oil-mills in operation, chiefly for pressing the cocoa-nut kernels. The island contains extensive forests, in which, besides the more ordinary descriptions of timber, the growth of those latitudes, there is a great variety and profusion of beautiful woods, well adapted for the use of the cabinet-maker.

Among the animals of Ceylon, most of those found on the opposite continent are native to the island. Elephants are numerous, and sometimes do great injury to growing crops. Under the kings of Candy these animals were trained to perform the office of public executioners.

The trade of the United Kingdom with Ceylon is not distinguished in the Custom-house accounts from that to the continent of India. A trade is carried on with Bengal, to which presidency it exports betel-nuts, chank shells, cordage, cocoa-nuts, and various minor articles; while it imports from that quarter cotton piece goods, sugar, rice, wheat, and gunny bags.

Mauritius,* commonly known as The Mauritius, is an island in the Indian Ocean, about 120 miles north-east from the island of Bourbon, and four times that distance east of Madagascar. Its greatest length from north to south is forty miles, and its greatest breadth is thirty-two miles; its area is about 700 square miles. This island was discovered early in the sixteenth century by a Portuguese navigator; and in 1598 a Dutch admiral made a landing upon it, and gave it the name of Mauritius in compliment to the then Prince of Orange. Its earliest inhabitants were pirates; but no serious attempt for its colonization was made until 1720, when it was occupied by some settlers from the French island of Bourbon. Its name was then changed for that of Isle of France, and the property in it was given by the King of France to the French East India Company. The island was fortunate in being early intrusted to the government of a very intelligent man, M. de la Bourdonnais, under whom it made great progress in cultivation.

Mauritius was taken by an English force in 1810: its possession was ratified to us at the peace of 1814, and it has since remained under the dominion of the crown of England.

The population in 1839 consisted of—

* Properly this island should be classed with British possessions in Africa; it is more convenient, however, to place it in connexion with our Asiatic possessions.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Europeans and Africans	69,800	39,940	109,740
Indians.	23,490	419	23,909
Aliens and strangers.			1,548
Total			135,197

In the previous year the people of African blood, who were then not wholly emancipated, were distinguished; they consisted of 53,230 persons (34,994 males and 18,236 females).

The chief exportable produce of the island is sugar, the cultivation of which is so profitable that the inhabitants are content to import nearly all their provisions in order to devote themselves more exclusively to sugar planting. This state of things is owing to the boon granted to the island in 1825, by admitting its produce to consumption in England at the same favourable rate of duty as was charged upon West India sugar. The following statement, showing the exports of sugar from Mauritius, in each year from 1820 to 1839, will show the effect of this measure in stimulating production :—

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1820	15,524,755	1830	67,926,692
1821	20,410,053	1831	70,203,676
1822	23,404,644	1832	73,594,894
1823	27,400,887	1833	72,947,729
1824	24,334,553	1834	76,817,365
1825	21,793,766	1835	70,227,204
1826	42,489,416	1836	69,547,778
1827	40,619,254	1837	73,812,666
1828	48,350,101	1838	78,351,782
1829	58,431,538	1839	74,152,989

The quantity of Mauritius sugar imported into the United Kingdom alone, in each year from 1838 to 1842, was as follows :—

Years.	lbs.
1838	67,874,128
1839	69,294,960
1840	61,040,784
1841	78,954,176
1842	75,738,144

The number of acres planted with sugar-cane, which in 1825 was 27,639, was increased in 1836 to 57,127.

The value of British produce and manufactures exported to Mauritius, in each year from 1827 to 1841, was—

Years.	£.	Years.	£.	Years.	£.
1827	195,713	1832	163,191	1837	349,488
1828	185,972	1833	83,424	1838	467,342
1829	205,558	1834	149,319	1839	211,731
1830	161,029	1835	196,559	1840	325,812
1831	146,475	1836	260,855	1841	340,140

A considerable trade is carried on between this island and the British possessions in India, whence the imports are chiefly of grain, rice, and live stock. France still retains a great part of her trading connexion with Mauritius, one-eighth part in value of the total imports into the colony being from that country. The principal articles thus imported are wine, spirits, silk manufactures, apparel, and books. The payments both to France and India are almost wholly made in bills of exchange on England.

The shipping that entered and cleared from Port Louis, the only harbour of any importance in the island, and which embraces all its external trade, in each of the years from 1837 to 1839, was as follows:—

	1837				1838			
	Entered.		Cleared.		Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Great Britain . .	45	13,033	81	22,411	69	21,214	82	23,909
British Colonies .	165	47,085	137	38,510	159	44,954	153	45,370
United States . .	1	91	1	91	..	..	2	1,038
Foreign countries	243	47,958	301	84,530	264	64,411	203	39,748
	454	108,227	420	95,542	492	120,579	440	109,965

	1839			
	Entered.		Cleared	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Great Britain . . .	43	13,378	85	24,809
British Colonies . .	154	41,443	124	33,826
United States . . .	4	1,306	1	522
Foreign countries . .	206	39,981	177	31,648
	413	96,108	287	90,499

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENTS IN AUSTRALASIA.

General Description—Times of Settlement. **NEW SOUTH WALES:** Population—Disparity of Sexes—Immigrants—Sales of Waste Lands—"Bounty Emigrants"—Agricultural Emigrants—Convicts—Revenues—Productions—Wool—Whale Fishery—Trade—Shipping. **VAN DIEMEN'S LAND:** Population—Disparity of Sexes—Productions—Whale Fishery—Export of Wool—Manufactures, &c.—Trade—Shipping. **WESTERN AUSTRALIA:** Population—Shipping—Stock. **SOUTH AUSTRALIA:** Population—Sales of Public Lands. **NEW ZEALAND:** Population—Trade—Shipping.

THE settlements under the dominion of England in Australasia are, in the strictest acceptation of the term, colonies. They are formed on the islands of New Holland, Van Diemen's Land, and Norfolk Island. The first-named of these islands extends between 10° and 39° south latitude, and 115° and 153° east longitude. Its extreme length from east to west is (in round numbers) 2400 miles, and its extreme breadth from north to south is 1700 miles. The mean breadth is computed at 1400 miles, which would give for the area of the island 3,360,000 square miles; being more than twenty-eight times the area of Great Britain and Ireland.

The British flag was first raised on this island in January, 1788; and the rapidity with which the colony of New South Wales has advanced may be inferred from the fact, that in less than half a century from that date land was sold in the town of Sidney, the capital, at the rate of 20,000*l.* per acre. This settlement is on the east coast of the island. It extends coastwise about 500 miles,

between 28° and 36° south latitude : its boundary inland is undefined.

The settlement of Western Australia, or Swan River, was begun in August, 1829, and in the following January thirty-nine locations had been effected. The number of resident inhabitants was then 850, and non-residents 440. This settlement includes all of the island of New Holland which lies west of 129° of east longitude. It is therefore in length from north to south about 1300 miles, and in mean breadth from east to west about 800 miles.

Another settlement on this great island, called, from its position, South Australia, was formed under the provisions of an Act of Parliament in 1836. The limits of this province extend "from the 132nd to the 141st degree of east longitude, and from the south coast, including the adjacent islands, northwards to the tropic of Capricorn. Its area is therefore nearly 200,000,000 acres.

Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, is divided from the south-east coast of New Holland by Bass's Strait. It lies between $40^{\circ} 40'$ and $43^{\circ} 40'$ south latitude, and between $144^{\circ} 40'$ and $148^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude. Its greatest length from north-west to south-east is 210 miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west is 190 miles : its mean breadth is about 120 miles, and its area about 25,000 square miles.

Norfolk Island, lying off the east coast of New Holland at the distance of about 700 miles, was first colonized in 1791 by the then governor of New South Wales, his object being to grow supplies for the markets of Sydney, the soil being very fertile. It is now used solely as a receptacle or prison for the worst description of male convicts, who are sent thither from New South Wales to work out the remainder of their lives in chains.

An account of the population of the colony of New

South Wales was taken in 1828, and declared to consist of—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Free immigrants .	2,846	1,827	4,673
Born in colony .	4,473	4,254	8,727
Free by servitude .	5,302	1,342	6,644
Pardoned . . .	835	51	886
Convicts . . .	14,155	1,513	15,668
Total .	27,611	8,987	36,598

Between 1828 and 1833 there arrived in the colony—

Free settlers . .	6,021
Convicts . . .	16,792

and the excess in the number of births beyond deaths, according to registers then not very carefully kept, was in the same five years 1254.

In 1833 another census was taken, and the numbers found were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Free, under 12 years old	5,256	4,931	10,187
„ above 12 „	17,542	8,521	26,063
Convicts . . .	21,846	2,698	24,544
Total . .	44,644	16,150	60,794

The last census was taken in March, 1841, and exhibited the following results:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Arrived free . . .	30,745	22,158	52,903
Born in the colony . .	14,819	14,622	29,441
Free by servitude and pardon	15,760	3,637	19,397
Bond, viz.:—			
Holding tickets of leave .	5,843	316	6,159
In government employment	6,658	979	7,637
In private assignment .	11,343	1,838	13,181
Total . .	85,168	43,550	128,718

The great disparity between the sexes observable at all these periods has been caused by the peculiar nature of the colony as a penal settlement, the great bulk of

those sent out of the United Kingdom for their misdeeds being males. Every year, provided the arrival of convicts be not excessive, this disparity becomes less through natural causes. It will be seen from the foregoing statements that the proportion of females to the whole population has been continually increasing: it was—

In 1828	24·55 per cent.
1833	26·56 „
1841	33·83 „

The disparity of the sexes does not apply to the population under twenty-one years of age. The numbers of males and females under that age in 1841 were,—males 22,691, females 21,294,—being in the proportion of 5159 males to 4841 females. The proportions living at those ages in England and Wales were, in 1821, 5144 males to 4856 females, and in 1841, 5112 males to 4888 females, showing a deficiency of young females in New South Wales, as compared with this country, of only 15 in 10,000 of both sexes in 1821, and 47 in that number in 1841.

The number of immigrants who arrived in New South Wales as settlers, in each year from 1829 to 1840, was,—

Years.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1829	306	113	145	564
1830	166	70	73	309
1831	185	98	174	457
1832	819	706	481	2,006
1833	838	1,146	701	2,685
1834	571	596	397	1,564
1835	551	644	233	1,428
1836	524	807	290	1,621
1837	1,769	1,138	1,368	4,275
1838	3,631	2,132	3,077	8,840
1839	4,095	3,090	3,324	10,509
1840	..	..	..	7,536

Total . . 41,794

The waste lands of the colony were formerly bestowed

by the crown as free grants to individual settlers, the conditions of their receiving such grants being, the possession of property within the colony, and the obligation to cultivate or improve the lands. Since 1831 not any more free grants have been made, and the land has been sold. The proceeds have been applied to defray the expenses of surveying and bringing the land to sale, to extend the blessings of civilization and protection to the aborigines, and to the payment of bounties on the conveyance of emigrants from the United Kingdom to New South Wales. In the ten years from 1832 to 1841 there were thus sold within the colony 1,923,631 acres of land, at prices varying from 5s. 4½*d.* to 1*l.* 12s. 11*d.* per acre, not reckoning in those prices the sales of town allotments; the average price obtained for country lands being about 7s. per acre. Out of the purchase-money there was paid from the beginning of 1832 to September, 1842, the sum of 951,242*l.* as bounty to the owners of ships for the conveyance of emigrants to the colony. The part of this sum paid in 1841 was 327,106*l.*, including gratuities to the surgeons and officers of emigrant ships. In that year the great number of 19,523 men, women, and children, were landed as bounty emigrants, and a further number of 3677 independent or unassisted settlers arrived in the colony, making a total of 23,200. The bounty emigrants consisted of—

7,183 males above 18 years old.

7,599 females above 15 years.

14,782 adults.

152 males between 15 and 18 years.

929 males " 7 and 15 "

816 females " 7 and 15 "

1,187 males " 1 and 7 "

1,065 females " 1 and 7 "

592 infants under 1 year old.

19,523

This great number of settlers were natives of various divisions of the United Kingdom, as under :—

ENGLAND AND WALES :—	
Northern counties of England	1,345
Southern and western counties	1,723
Midland counties	759
Eastern counties	648
WALES	88
	<hr/> 4,563
SCOTLAND :—	
Northern counties	504
Southern counties	1,112
	<hr/> 1,616
IRELAND :—	
Ulster	4,218
Leinster	2,596
Connaught	1,236
Munster	5,294
	<hr/> 13,344
	<hr/> 19,523

Of the adults, there were 3425 married men, and 3396 married women ; the remaining 7961 were single. Among these adults,—

- 8,643 could read and write ;
- 2,961 could read only ; and
- 3,178 were without any degree of instruction.

It affords a strong proof of the extensive field for the employment of labour offered by this colony, that of all the number of persons old enough to work who arrived during 1841, only 46 remained without employment on the 1st January, 1842 ; and that of 4163 adult “bounty emigrants” who landed in the first four months of 1842, only 30 were unemployed on the 14th of May in that year. This fact is the more deserving of notice, because the colony was at that time suffering a great degree of commercial depression.

Of the adult males who arrived in 1841, the very large proportion of 5149, or 7 out of 10 were agricultural labourers, as to whom the agent for emigration at Sydney remarks that complaints have reached him of their having proved for the most part “utterly ignorant of almost every branch of their business;” and he expresses regret that “so very few should have been selected from districts where agriculture is most successfully pursued, and where, consequently, the best husbandmen are to be found.” It does not seem to have suggested itself to the mind of this gentleman that in such districts the farm servants would be placed in circumstances which render expatriation less needful or desirable than it is for the labouring population of less advanced parts of the kingdom.

The fund applicable to the employment of labour in New South Wales is now constantly and rapidly increasing. The home government has every year to pay nearly 300,000*l.* for the maintenance of the military and convict establishments of the colony; large sums are continually carried over for permanent investment by settlers, and the high rate of profit to be obtained has caused the transmission of other large sums by English capitalists for the establishment of banks and loan companies.

The number of convicts, chiefly males, that were landed in the colony in each year from 1828 to 1838 was:—

1828	2,712	1834	3,161
1829	3,664	1835	3,602
1830	3,225	1836	3,823
1831	2,633	1837	3,425
1832	3,119	1838	3,073
1833	4,151		
Total . .			36,588

The public revenues of the colony have increased with

an extraordinary rapidity. In 1826 they amounted to 72,230*l*.; in 1830, to 104,729*l*.; in 1833, to 164,063*l*.; in 1836, to 330,579*l*.; and in 1841, to 639,675*l*. In the three later years the amount was swelled by the proceeds of crown lands sold to the respective sums of,—

1833	£24,956
1836	126,458
1841	90,387

The chief revenue is derived from customs duties, and the principal article thus subjected to taxation is ardent spirit, the consumption of which in the colony is great, as might indeed be expected if we take into consideration the previous habits of a large part of the population.

The climate and soil of New South Wales, so far as our researches have hitherto been carried, appear to be admirably calculated for the breeding and rearing of flocks of sheep, which, having an almost unlimited extent of pasturage, increase with the greatest rapidity, and yield fleeces of very excellent quality. The export of sheep's wool from the colony in each year from 1822 to 1841, as stated below, will show how rapid has been the increase in this branch of colonial wealth.

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1822	172,880	1832	1,515,156
1823	198,240	1833	1,734,203
1824	275,560	1834	2,246,933
1825	411,600	1835	3,893,927
1826	552,960	1836	3,693,241
1827	407,116	1837	4,448,796
1828	834,343	1838	5,749,376
1829	1,005,333	1839	7,213,584
1830	899,750	1840	8,610,775
1831	1,401,284	1841	8,589,368

The only exportable articles which, with the exception of wool, New South Wales has hitherto afforded in any

considerable quantities, are the produce of the whale fishery which has been carried on from its shores during the past few years. The fishery is prosecuted to great advantage because of the abundance of whales found near to the coast, so that the vessels employed have no long voyage to make in quest of them, as is the case with our northern whale fishery. Both the black whale and the spermaceti whale are found. The progress of this fishery has been as follows:—

Years.	Number of Ships.	Tuns of Sperm Whale Oil.	Tuns of Black Whale Oil.	Cwts. of Whalebone.	Number of Seal Skins.
1828	no account	348	50	no account	7,647
1829	27	885	..	„	12,350
1830	32	1,282	518	„	5,460
1831	31	1,914	1,004	„	4,972
1832	22	1,648	247	330	891
1833	27	3,483	314	485	2,465
1834	24	2,243	1,124	820	737
1835	29	2,716	42	40	..
1836	40	1,700	1,178	1,926	386
1837	47	1,179	2,006	1,550	200
1838	53	1,184	2,178	2,734	180

A time will arrive at which the flowing of capital into our Australian colonies from England will be checked, if indeed it do not cease. The system of transporting our convicts to such distant settlements has for some time been seriously questioned, and may at any moment be changed, and the circumstances of distress in which our working population have lately been placed may pass away, so that employment for them may be found at home, and schemes for promoting emigration by means of bounties may be abandoned. What, then, will be the condition of our Australian colonists, if, in the meantime, they shall not have employed their industry in providing

a greater variety or a larger amount of exportable produce? The climate is well adapted to the production of many articles for which a market may be found in England. There is reason for believing that cotton of excellent quality may be raised in great abundance, that tobacco may be grown with advantage, and that wine may be produced sufficient for the consumption of the colony, even if it were allowed to become a substitute for ardent spirits, and that at no distant day some considerable quantity might be furnished for exportation. Dried fruits, too, which are at present supplied to us from Spain and countries bordering the Mediterranean, might become articles of exportation, and a source of wealth to the colonists.

The trade of the colony has increased with a rapidity equal to that of its population. The value of imports and exports in each year from 1828 to 1839 was as follows:—

Years.	IMPORTS.			
	Great Britain.	British Colonies.	Foreign States and Fisheries.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1828	399,892	125,862	44,246	570,000
1829	423,463	135,486	42,055	601,004
1830	268,935	60,356	91,189	420,480
1831	241,989	68,804	179,359	490,152
1832	409,344	47,895	147,381	604,620
1833	434,220	61,662	218,090	713,972
1834	669,663	124,570	197,757	991,990
1835	707,133	144,824	262,848	1,114,805
1836	Not distinguished in these years.			991,917
1837				864,255
1838				1,271,504
1839				1,839,299

Years.	EXPORTS.			
	Great Britain.	British Colonies.	Foreign States and Fisheries.	Total.
1828	£84,008	£4,845	£1,197	£90,050
1829	146,283	12,692	2,741	161,716
1830	120,559	15,597	5,305	141,461
1831	211,138	60,354	52,678	324,168
1832	252,106	63,934	68,304	384,344
1833	269,508	77,344	57,949	394,801
1834	400,738	128,311	58,691	587,740
1835	496,345	83,108	102,740	682,193
1836	Not distinguished in these years.			599,893
1837				768,940
1838				744,147
1839				849,268

A part of the excess in the value of imports over exports arises, as already explained, from the transfer of capital to the colony on the part of free emigrants, and a considerable proportion of the exports from England are paid for in government bills drawn from the colony for the expenses of the convict establishments.

The number and tonnage of the shipping employed in the trade of the colony in each year from 1834 to 1838 were as follows :—

Years.	INWARDS.									
	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign States.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1834	58	20,906	119	23,730	..	..	75	13,896	245	58,532
1835	47	17,530	132	28,507	6	1,400	75	15,582	260	63,019
1836	60	23,610	124	25,881	3	975	82	14,969	269	65,415
1837	56	21,816	94	21,085	5	1,220	105	23,238	260	67,360
1838	102	41,848	106	22,928	1	274	62	15,010	271	80,060
	OUTWARDS.									
	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign States.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1834	87	8,639	88	16,005	..	..	105	28,729	220	53,373
1835	31	11,261	90	15,821	..	..	148	39,882	269	66,964
1836	39	9,759	106	22,695	..	..	125	30,180	264	62,834
1837	43	13,398	91	20,959	..	..	129	30,239	263	64,596
1838	35	12,367	83	17,043	1	239	154	51,696	273	81,395

The number and tonnage of shipping registered in the colony on the 31st December, 1841, was,—

	Vessels.	Tons.
Sailing-vessels—under 50 tons	87	1,903
„ above 50 tons	119	20,519
	<hr/> 206	<hr/> 22,422
Steam-vessels—under 50 tons	3	126
„ above 50 tons	11	1,330
	<hr/> 14	<hr/> 1,456
Total . . .	220	23,878

The population of Van Diemen's Land in 1824 was as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Free	3,781	2,248	6,029
Convicts . . .	5,467	471	5,938
Military and their families . . .	266	70	336
Total. . .	<hr/> 9,514	<hr/> 2,789	<hr/> 12,303

In 1830 these numbers were doubled. The inhabitants then were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Free	8,351	4,623	12,974
Convicts . . .	8,877	1,318	10,195
Military and their families. . .	880	230	1,110
Total . . .	<hr/> 18,108	<hr/> 6,171	<hr/> 24,279

In 1838, the latest year for which we have the numbers, they were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Free	14,692	11,363	26,055
Convicts . . .	16,069	2,064	18,133
Military and their families . . .	1,171	405	1,576
Total . . .	<hr/> 31,932	<hr/> 13,832	<hr/> 45,764

The disparity in the sexes is greater even than exists in New South Wales. The proportion of females to the whole population was,—

In 1824	22.67 per cent.
1830	25.41 „
1838	30.22 „

The evil appears to be decreasing here as in New South Wales.

This island is not so subject to drought as New South Wales, and it is therefore better adapted for arable cultivation. The farming produce raised in each of the years 1836 to 1838 was as follows :—

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Peas.	Beans.	Potatoes.	Turnips.	Hay.
	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1836	485,969	89,429	121,526	9,819	1,480	11,936	69,009	8,560
1837	309,569	73,566	128,209	9,035	237	4,015	22,547	10,790
1838	551,285	183,640	251,491	12,460	1,031	11,533	12,396	15,992

The number of stock in the same years was,—

Years.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.
1836	8,243	74,500	906,813	1,964
1837	8,010	73,212	911,357	1,624
1838	9,884	77,153	1,222,511	2,624

The whale fishery is followed as a regular trade from this colony. The value of the oil and whalebone taken in each year from 1828 to 1838 will show the increasing importance of this pursuit.

1828	£11,268	1834	£56,450
1829	12,313	1835	64,858
1830	22,065	1836	57,660
1831	33,549	1837	135,210
1832	37,176	1838	98,660
1833	30,620		

The quantity of colonial wool exported from Van Diemen's Land in each year from 1832 to 1839 was as follows :—

1832	1,333,061lbs.	1836	1,727,258lbs.
1833	1,454,719	1837	2,638,250
1834	1,372,668	1838	2,839,512
1835	1,533,653	1839	3,080,920

A return has been made of the number of manufactories, mills, and principal trades, in each year from 1824 to 1838, showing a progressive and steady increase in every branch. The numbers in the first and last years of the series respectively were as follows :—

	1824	1838
Agricultural implement makers . . . . .	..	9
Breweries	3	19
Candle manufactories . . . . .	..	4
Cooperages . . . . .	..	9
Coachmakers . . . . .	..	2
Distilleries	1	4
Engineers . . . . .	..	7
Mills—steam . . . . .	..	3
„ water and wind	5	51
Printing offices	1	8
Tanners	6	15
Wool staplers . . . . .	..	3

The trade of this colony has increased with great rapidity. In 1824 the total imports were valued at 62,000*l.*, of which 50,000*l.* came from England, and 10,000*l.* from other British colonies. The exports in that year were valued at 14,500*l.*, all of which were made to England or its colonies. In the ten years from 1829 to 1838 the values of imports and exports were as follows :—

Years.	IMPORTS.				
	Great Britain.	British Colonies.	United States.	Foreign Countries.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1829	176,366	77,529	..	18,294	272,189
1830	153,478	93,251	..	8,569	255,298
1831	211,612	75,442	..	11,720	298,774
1832	293,885	91,119	..	7,662	392,666
1833	258,904	80,860	..	13,130	352,894
1834	316,559	145,445	1,424	13,189	476,617
1835	403,879	149,664	3,368	26,735	583,646
1836	386,142	163,471	2,002	6,625	558,240
1837	391,804	158,074	889	12,377	563,144
1838	556,746	129,602	2,661	13,947	702,956

EXPORTS.					
1829	55,535	71,115	..	534	126,984
1830	52,031	93,742	..	207	145,980
1831	87,893	53,852	..	..	141,745
1832	110,883	46,787	..	236	157,906
1833	105,126	47,567	..	274	152,967
1834	167,815	35,399	290	18	203,522
1835	218,754	101,716	61	148	320,679
1836	232,720	186,193	1,210	..	420,123
1837	314,224	225,907	..	90	540,221
1838	321,871	251,604	8,000	..	581,475

The greater value of the imports over exports is due to the same causes as produce the like results in New South Wales, and which have already been explained.

The tonnage employed in the trade during the above years was as follows :—

Years.	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1829	110	24,717	111	25,742
1830	101	26,582	92	25,045
1831	94	23,184	102	25,451

Years.	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	142	31,724	128	28,019
1833	167	37,442	159	36,250
1834	150	33,441	134	32,192
1835	234	55,833	225	53,560
1836	292	58,142	274	52,780
1837	344	60,960	363	57,945
1838	370	64,454	369	63,392

The shipping belonging to the colony has increased rapidly. In 1824 its whole mercantile marine consisted of one vessel of 42 tons; in 1830 the colony possessed sixteen vessels of 1386 tons; in 1834 these were increased to sixty-six vessels of 4437 tons; in 1838 its shipping amounted to 101 vessels, measuring 8382 tons; and at the end of 1841 the number and tonnage were as under :—

	Ships.	Tons.
Sailing-vessels—under 50 tons	75	1,804
„ above 50 tons	68	10,119
	<hr/> 143	<hr/> 11,923
Steam-vessels—under 50 tons	3	91
	<hr/> 148	<hr/> 12,014
Total . .	148	12,014

The population of Western Australia (Swan River) from 1834 to 1839 was as follows :—

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1834	1,230	840	2,070
1835	1,231	734	1,965
1836	1,285	755	2,040
1837	1,249	776	2,025
1838	1,152	776	1,928
1839	1,302	852	2,154

These numbers are far from exhibiting an encouraging result,—the difference between the first and the last year of the series being not more than one-fourth part of the excess of births over deaths.

The shipping that entered the ports of Freemantle and Albany in the above years was as follows:—

Years.	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign Countries.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1834	4	1,351	16	1,769	..	..	..	..	20	3,120
1835	3	560	13	2,693	1	164	6	666	23	4,083
1836	..	..	18	2,178	3	830	..	..	21	3,008
1837	4	942	8	1,415	1	363	1	391	14	3,012
1838	2	450	13	2,296	9	2,770	..	..	24	5,516
1839	30		8,337		20		5		64	16,803

The quantity of land granted by the government since the first establishment of the colony amounted at the end of 1839 to 1,561,903 acres, and the quantity sold up to that time was 29,353 acres. The total amount in crop in 1839 was 2578 acres, chiefly in wheat. In the same year the number of stock consisted of,—

Horses	382
Horned cattle . .	1,394
Sheep	20,829
Goats	3,814
Swine	1,299

The number of settlers who arrived in the colony of South Australia up to the close of 1840 was,—

1836	941
1837	1,279
1838	2,598
1839	5,197
1840	5,025
Total	15,040

The returns do not make any distinction of sexes, except for the year 1839, when the emigrants were divided in the proportion of seven males to six females.

The sales of public lands effected up to the end of 1841 included 288,817 acres, the purchase-money of which amounted to 267,988*l*. The money thus produced is applied, under a Board of Commissioners, to defray the expense of conveying emigrants to the colony, with the view of furnishing the settlers with labourers.

The colonization of New Zealand, or more correctly speaking, the settlement upon the islands known by that name, by British subjects, had been for some time in progress, when, in 1839, the group was declared to be subject to the Crown of England, and an organized government was established. Prior to this step on the part of our government, large tracts of land had been acquired by individuals from the native chiefs for nominal considerations, such as a blanket, a hatchet, or a gun. Such purchases have since been officially declared invalid, nor, indeed, is any title to the possession of land within the colony held to be valid unless derived from or confirmed by Her Majesty.

The colony of New Zealand consists of three islands, viz., New Ulster, or North Island; New Munster, or Middle Island; and New Leinster, or South Island. They are situated between 48° and 34° south latitude, and between 166° and 179° east longitude.

As regards the population of this group of islands, we have no certain information. The North Island is roughly estimated to contain 100,000 native inhabitants; but no estimate has been formed with respect to the population of the other two islands. The European population is probably at this time between 3000 and 4000.

The value of British manufactures exported to New Zealand in various years since 1827 has been as follows:—

1827	£172	1832	£1,576	1837	nil
1828	2,487	1833	936	1838	£1,095
1829	645	1834	nil	1839	23,459
1830	1,396	1835	2,687	1840	36,793
1831	4,752	1836	nil	1841	67,275

Our importations from these islands have hitherto been insignificant, being confined to small quantities of fish, oil, and timber. Of this latter article the islands are said to contain a very abundant supply of very desirable qualities, and in particular that spars of considerable size may be obtained for the use of our navy.

That hereafter a considerable amount of trade will be carried on with our settlers in New Zealand may reasonably be hoped, when we take note of the following official summary of the vessels that visited the Bay of Islands in the year 1836 :—

British ships of war	2
„ whaling ships	25
„ trading vessels	2
New South Wales whaling ships .	35
„ trading vessels	26
Van Diemen's Land whaling ships	4
<hr/>	
Total British and British Colonial	94
American whaling ships	40
„ trading vessels	5
French whaling ships	3
Tahitian trading vessels	1
<hr/>	
Total vessels	152

These vessels are exclusive of small craft engaged in the coasting trade.

The shipping engaged in the trade between the United Kingdom and this country in 1841 consisted of thirty-eight vessels in 1836 and that left our shores and four vessels in 1841 and that entered our ports.

CHAPTER V.

DEPENDENCIES IN AFRICA.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE : Population—Imports and Exports—Shipping—Productions—Wine—Whale Fishery—Stock—Farm Produce—Timber—Harbours. ST. HELENA : Population—Imports—Shipping. ASCENSION : Products. SIERRA LEONE : Population—Emancipated Slaves—Unhealthiness of Climate—Imports and Exports—Shipping. Settlement on the GAMBIA : Population—Trade. Settlements on the GOLD COAST : CAPE COAST CASTLE : ACCRA : DIX COVE : ANNAMABOE : Trade—Population. FERNANDO Po : Population.

THE dependencies and colonies of the United Kingdom in Africa are (with the exception of Mauritius and its dependencies, described in a former chapter)—

The Cape of Good Hope ;
St. Helena ;
Ascension Island ;
Sierra Leone ;
Settlements on the Gambia ;
Cape Coast Castle ;
Accra ;
Dix Cove ;
Annamaboe ; and
Fernando Po.

The cape which gives its name to the important colony of the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the southern point of Africa, in $34^{\circ} 23'$ south latitude, and $18^{\circ} 23'$ east longitude. From this point the colony extends northward to $29^{\circ} 40'$ south latitude, and eastward to the Great Kei river in $28^{\circ} 25'$ east longitude. The area of the colony comprises 110,256 square miles.

Cape Town, the capital, is built on Table Bay, on the north coast of a peninsula about thirty miles long, and which for some time formed the extent of the settlement formed by the Dutch in 1650. In 1795 the town and colony were taken by the English, but were restored to Holland by the treaty of Amiens in 1801. In 1806 it was again taken by the British forces, and its possession was confirmed to us by the peace of 1814.

When it fell into our hands, in 1795, the population of all races was estimated to amount to about 60,000; in 1806 the numbers were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites and free coloured	13,624	11,990	25,614
Free blacks	529	605	1,134
Negro and coloured slaves	18,990	10,313	29,303
Hottentots	8,496	8,935	17,431
Total . .	41,639	31,843	73,482

In 1839, when the condition of slavery had ceased, the numbers were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites	34,973	33,207	68,180
Black and coloured people	38,976	36,115	75,091
Total . .	73,949	69,322	143,271

showing an increase of ninety-five per cent. in thirty-three years from natural causes, from immigration, and from extension of territory.

The exports of British manufactures to this colony during each of the fifteen years from 1827 to 1841 were to the following value :—

1827	£216,558	1832	£292,405	1837	£488,814
1828	218,049	1833	346,197	1838	623,323
1829	257,501	1834	304,382	1839	464,130
1830	330,036	1835	326,921	1840	417,091
1831	257,245	1836	452,315	1841	384,574

The principal exports from the Cape consist of hides, salted meat, butter, grain, and flour, horns, ivory, goat, seal, and sheep skins, tallow, wool, and wine.

Of the last-named article of produce the quantity exported in each of the five years 1835 to 1839 was,—

1835	1,247,819	gallons, valued at £107,546
1836	926,639	" " 84,220
1837	1,122,906	" " 99,851
1838	1,090,079	" " 102,408
1839	1,157,061	" " 99,798

The shipping that entered and cleared from the several ports of Cape Colony, viz., Cape Town, Simon's Town, and Port Elizabeth, in the four years 1836 to 1839, was as follows:—

Years.	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1836	381	124,952	352	118,042
1837	400	139,103	378	134,207
1838	472	170,329	356	165,977
1839	524	168,729	510	166,021

The number and tonnage of vessels that belonged to Cape Colony in each of the years 1838 to 1841 were as follows:—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1838	14	1,596
1839	15	1,670
1840	23	2,743
1841	24	3,150

It was at one time believed that by careful attention to the cultivation of the vine in this colony, and to the preparation of its produce, England might be made in a great degree independent of other wine-growing countries. In this belief, and following up the notion that this end would the more surely be attained by giving to Cape wine a fiscal advantage in our markets over the wine of foreign

countries, the duty was reduced in 1813 to one-third the rate charged upon other wine; and in 1825, when a general reduction was made in the duty on wine, a further small abatement was made in favour of Cape wines, which have since paid half the rates charged upon other wine; but the expected result has not followed. The produce has not of late years been sensibly augmented, and the quality continues as inferior (if, indeed, it has not deteriorated) as it was before this boon was granted to the colony. Whether this effect is attributable to causes beyond the control of the wine-growers of the Cape, or is a consequence of want of energy resulting from legislative protection, it is hard to say.

The whale fishery is carried on to a small extent by means of boats. In each of the four years from 1836 to 1839 the result was,—

Years.	Number of Boats.	Number of Whales taken.	Number of Seals taken.	Value of Oil, &c.
1836	47	18	681	£3,349
1837	94	9	106	2,355
1838	77	10	345	2,348
1839	118	9	..	1,550

This colony appears to be peculiarly fitted for pastoral purposes, and there is a probability that under the altered tariff of 1842 cured provisions may be profitably brought thence to England. The number of stock existing in the different districts in the three years 1837 to 1839 was as follows:—

	1837	1838	1839
Horses . . .	79,551	71,793	56,703
Horned cattle .	279,518	266,255	306,809
Sheep . . .	1,923,082	2,030,145	2,339,191
Goats . . .	379,490	370,510	393,601

The breadth of land under cultivation in the colony

during 1839, and the quantities of the several products, were,—

	Acres.	Produce.
Wheat	74,838	395,329 bushels.
Barley	21,499	203,323 „
Rye	5,536	32,010 „
Oats	33,487	185,759 „
Maize and millet . .	2,939	32,068 „
Peas, beans, and lentils .	1,026	8,781 „
Potatoes	768	31,131 „

The produce per acre here shown is exceedingly small, and indicates a very unenlightened system of farming, which, however, must be inexpensive, since it admits of the exportation yearly of a considerable portion of what is raised. The principal markets are Mauritius and St. Helena. The wheat grown in this colony is of fine quality.

The value of the exports from this colony falls greatly short of that of its imports, the balance being provided by bills of exchange drawn by the commissariat department at the Cape upon the Lords of the Treasury to meet the expenditure incurred on account of the government. The produce of the Cape does not offer that variety of articles from which large cargoes can be assorted for the markets either of Europe or of India. Some part of the exports at present made consists of the produce of India and China. There are considerable forests in which timber trees are found. The best of these is known as African oak, and is highly useful to the ship builder, but the expense attending the cutting and conveyance of the trees to any port of shipment makes the cost in the colony equal to that of Baltic timber.

There are several bays and harbours on the coast, which in the future development of the resources of the colony may prove themselves to be of great importance ;

at present the largest proportion of the foreign trade of the colony is carried on from Table Bay. This is an open roadstead, much exposed to the north-west wind which prevails from May to September. Simon's Bay, which forms a small indentation in False Bay, is protected from the north-west, but is exposed to the south-east winds which blow violently in the summer. The distance between Simon's Bay and Cape Town is twenty-two miles; the roads are bad, and not easily improvable. Algoa Bay, or Port Elizabeth, in $33^{\circ} 54'$ south latitude, and $25^{\circ} 35'$ east longitude, is a safe port during the prevalence of the north-west wind, but is hazardous during the remaining six months of the year. Saldanha Bay, in $33^{\circ} 5'$ south latitude, and $17^{\circ} 50'$ east longitude, offers security at all times, but its situation is unfavourable for commercial objects.

St. Helena, a small island in the South Atlantic Ocean, is situated in $15^{\circ} 15'$ south latitude, and $5^{\circ} 50'$ west longitude. It is but little more than ten miles long, and less than seven miles wide, its area being about 30,000 acres.

This island has obtained an historical celebrity from its having been made the prison of Napoleon when he threw himself upon the hospitality of England after the battle of Waterloo in 1815, and from its having been the place of his death and sepulture. During the years that his mortal remains rested in the island a degree of interest was attached to the spot, and many a pilgrimage was made to his tomb, but since its contents have been transferred to the church of the *Invalides* in Paris, St. Helena has lost this factitious importance, and has fallen back to the quietude by which it was formerly characterized. The advantage attending the possession of this island resides in its position, and in the plentiful supply which

it yields of good water, in quest of which, and of fresh vegetables, it is visited by ships homeward-bound from India.

St. Helena had been colonized by the Dutch, but was abandoned by them when they formed their settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in 1651. In that year it was visited by a fleet of vessels homeward-bound belonging to the East India Company, who took possession in the name of England. That company subsequently obtained a grant of the island from Charles the Second, and retained possession until 1815, when, to secure the custody of Napoleon, it was judged necessary to place its government more directly under the crown. On occasion of the last renewal of the company's charter, when their character as a trading body ceased, all benefit to them from this station was at an end, and its possession was resumed by the crown.

We have not any statement of the population earlier than 1836. In that year it consisted of 2113 whites, and 2864 coloured persons—together, 4997. In July, 1839, a census was taken, and the numbers were found to be 2527 males and 2209 females—together, 4736 souls. The climate is healthy, and the increase of the population through excess of births over deaths is proportionally great. The lessened number of inhabitants in 1839 compared with 1836 was occasioned by the emigration of many of the poorer persons to the Cape of Good Hope.

The exports of British manufactures to St. Helena in each of the fifteen years from 1827 to 1841 were to the following amounts :—

1827	£41,430	1832	£21,236	1837	£9,645
1828	31,362	1833	30,041	1838	13,990
1829	45,531	1834	31,615	1839	12,668
1830	38,915	1835	31,187	1840	9,884
1831	39,431	1836	11,041	1841	7,921

The number and tonnage of vessels that sailed from the United Kingdom to St. Helena and Ascension Island in each year from 1831 to 1840 were,—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1831	6	1,164	1836	5	967
1832	2	283	1837	7	1,631
1833	3	622	1838	12	2,366
1834	12	2,158	1839	7	1,717
1835	9	1,399	1840	7	1,009

In the same interval there entered our ports from these islands,—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1834	2	362
1838	3	396
1839	2	452

There were not any arrivals thence during seven years of the series.

The importations are composed of East India produce, the islands themselves not producing any articles for exportation beyond the refreshments which it supplies to vessels visiting them for that purpose.

The island of Ascension, likewise in the South Atlantic Ocean, 685 miles north-west of St. Helena, lies in $7^{\circ} 56'$ south latitude, and $14^{\circ} 24'$ west longitude. This small island, seven miles and a half long, and six miles wide, of oval form, is of volcanic origin, and of a naked, desolate character. It was first taken into the possession of England in 1815, during the confinement of Napoleon in St. Helena, and employed as a military station. It has since been so far improved as to afford sustenance to a moderate number of sheep and cattle, and to yield various fruits and green vegetables. Considerable numbers of poultry are reared, and turtle and various kinds of fish abound on the coast. The water, gushing from a small spring, is collected in tanks, and the principal

advantage which the possession of this island seems likely to afford consists in the supply of water and fresh provisions to ships calling for such refreshments.

The colony of Sierra Leone takes its name from a cape on the west coast of Africa, in $8^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and $13^{\circ} 15'$ west longitude. The peninsula which forms the territory of the colony is bounded on the north by the river Sierra Leone, on the south by Calmont Creek, on the east by the river Bunce, and on the west by the sea : it is about thirty-five miles long and twenty-five miles broad. The river Sierra Leone is in fact the estuary of the Rokelle ; it is seven miles wide opposite Freetown, the capital of the colony, and constitutes its harbour. This has been in the virtual possession of England since the beginning of the sixteenth century : it is the only place worthy to be called a harbour between Cape Verde and Fernando Po. An English fort was built there in the reign of Charles the First, but the first attempt to colonize it was made in 1787, when 340 negroes, American refugees, were sent there from London at the expense of some private philanthropists. Of this colony only sixty-three remained in 1791. In 1792, the Sierra Leone Company sent out 119 settlers, part of whom were Europeans ; of these only 40 were living in 1793. In the same year 1131 negroes were conveyed there from Nova Scotia, all of whom, and their descendants, remaining in 1827, were 578 persons. In 1800 a party of 550 Maroons were landed from Jamaica, and for a time they appeared to thrive, having increased their numbers in 1836 to 681 ; but in 1841 all of them, excepting seventy, had left the colony. In 1818 upwards of 1200 persons of African blood, pensioners from the West India regiment, and their families, were conveyed to the colony.

The chief part of the population of Sierra Leone now

consists of Africans who have been captured on board slave-ships and liberated in the colony by the authority of a Court of Mixed Commission placed there under the provisions of treaties for the suppression of the slave trade. The population in 1839 consisted of,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites	75	24	99
Black and coloured people	21,754	17,280	39,034
Aliens and resident strangers . .	..	..	927
Total			40,060

Of these about 14,000, including nearly all the whites, inhabited Freetown. Among the blacks in the colony are about 2000 Kroomen, an industrious, intelligent, and well-conducted race, who are never enslaved, and by whom all the heavy work of the place is performed. They are pagans, and every attempt made to convert them to Christianity has failed; they make no wars, carry off no slaves, and are altogether averse to the trade in men; they are very docile and easily managed.

The number of slaves that had been emancipated at Sierra Leone up to the year 1840 was 70,809, of whom 20,709 males, and 16,320 females, together 37,029, were living in the colony in December, 1840.

The colony is administered by a governor and a legislative council, composed of the Chief Justice, Colonial Secretary, and three other principal functionaries.

It unfortunately happens, through the fatal influence of the climate upon the health and lives of Europeans, that persons to whom the administration of the colony is intrusted seldom remain long enough in office to conceive and to carry out plans for its improvement.

The trade of the United Kingdom with Sierra Leone is not kept in our custom-house distinctly, but is included with that to the African coast from the river Gambia

inclusive to the river Mesurada. The value of British manufactures exported to this quarter in each of the fifteen years 1827 to 1841 was as follows :—

1827	£75,456	1832	£69,255	1837	£109,597
1828	62,100	1833	58,336	1838	134,470
1829	85,700	1834	86,431	1839	123,539
1830	87,144	1835	75,388	1840	93,640
1831	85,192	1836	108,978	1841	96,092

These exports consist chiefly of wearing apparel, arms and ammunition, cotton manufactures, iron and steel goods, and woollens. The returns are made in cam-wood, gums, hides, palm oil, ivory, teake wood, and bee's wax.

The shipping employed in the trade between the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone, in 1841, consisted of;—

	Ships.	Tons.
Outwards	63	18,735
Inwards	61	21,166

There belonged to the colony in that year,—

	Ships.	Tons.
Under 50 tons	7	245
Above 50 tons	8	566
Total	15	811

The settlements on the river Gambia form a dependency on the government of Sierra Leone. The town, Bathurst, is on the left bank of the river Gambia, at its entrance from the ocean, in 13° 30' north latitude, and 16° 37' west longitude.

Expeditions were sent out from England early in the seventeenth century to this point, their object being to obtain gold and ivory in exchange for English goods, but the attempts at forming a settlement were then frustrated through the conjoint operations of hostility on the part of the Portuguese, and the unhealthiness of the climate.

About 1723 a British factory was created by the African Company on the small island of St. James, about seventeen miles from the mouth of the Gambia. The principal trade carried on here by the African Company was that in slaves, which for a long time received great encouragement from the British parliament, and was generally considered as a blameless pursuit! In 1688 the fort at St. James's Island was destroyed by the French, and the factory at that spot was afterwards abandoned. A new settlement was formed in 1816 at Bathurst, on the island of St. Mary, at the mouth of the Gambia. This island was obtained by purchase from the King of Combo, to whose successors we pay a yearly quit-rent of 200 dollars. We bought in 1820, from the King of Barra, a belt of land on the opposite bank of the river, extending one mile inland, and about thirty-six miles along its bank, and this gives us the command of the mouth of the river. Another purchase was made in 1840, in the vicinity of Cape St. Mary, of the Baccow territory. At the distance of 175 miles up the river, following its windings, we have obtained, also by purchase, Macarthy's Island, which is situated at the head of the navigation for vessels of considerable burthen, the trade beyond being carried on in small schooners. Some barracks, a mission-house, school and chapel, have been built on Macarthy's Island, the population on which amounts to about 800 males and 400 females. The Mandingo town of Morocunda stands on this island.

The population of Bathurst consists of 42 whites, 3391 coloured people, and 81 aliens and strangers (1705 males and 1809 females).

The value of British manufactures exported from the United Kingdom is included by the custom-house with the trade of Sierra Leone, as already explained.

The remaining British settlements on the continent of Africa are situated on what is called "The Gold Coast." They comprise Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Dix Cove, and Annamaboe.

Cape Coast Castle, in $5^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude, and $1^{\circ} 10'$ west longitude, is the seat of government for these settlements. Accra lies in $5^{\circ} 33'$ north latitude, and $0^{\circ} 5'$ west longitude. Dix Cove, in $4^{\circ} 46'$ north latitude, and $1^{\circ} 55'$ west longitude : and Annamaboe, in $5^{\circ} 12'$ north latitude, and $1^{\circ} 7'$ west longitude.

Cape Coast Castle was first settled by the Portuguese, who were dispossessed by the Dutch. It was captured by the English in 1661, and has since remained in our possession. The country, even in the immediate vicinity of our stations, is represented as "a wilderness, an impenetrable jungle, where cultivation has never been." The posts on the coast held by us are in fact stations to which the natives from the interior may resort for the purpose of carrying on a barter trade. We do not pretend to any territorial possession beyond the actual site of our several forts.

The value of British manufactures, chiefly arms and ammunition, brass and copper manufactures, cotton and woollen goods, exported from the United Kingdom to the different stations on the Gold Coast in each year from 1827 to 1841 was,—

1827	£22,414	1832	£65,291	1837	£89,020
1828	41,985	1833	86,263	1838	102,685
1829	46,962	1834	107,627	1839	131,444
1830	52,889	1835	87,841	1840	136,877
1831	59,214	1836	142,063	1841	133,510

The returns are made chiefly in palm oil, gums, Guinea grains, gold-dust, dye-woods, and ivory. There has of late years been a considerable increase in the quan-

tity of exportable products, and consequently in the value also of our shipments to that quarter. The quantity of palm oil obtained thence in 1827 was only 4962 cwt.; in 1831 it had increased to 16,750 cwt.; in 1836 there was a further increase to 22,042 cwt., and in 1841 we imported thence 42,754 cwt. This result is attributed chiefly to the success that has attended our efforts for impeding the trade in slaves.

The population of the district within the direct influence of the British forts along this division of the coast is roughly estimated at from 700,000 to 800,000. They are Fantees. Our principal trade is with Ashantees from the interior. These people are very superior in intelligence to the Fantees, and other dwellers on the coast, who have most probably been demoralized by the slave trade formerly so actively pursued.

Fernando Po is an island in the Bight of Benin, in $3^{\circ} 25'$ north latitude, and $8^{\circ} 50'$ east longitude; it is of volcanic origin, about twenty-four miles long and sixteen miles broad, and about twice the size of the Isle of Wight. Its surface is uneven, and in one part rises to a height of 3500 feet above the sea, to which circumstance is attributed its comparative healthiness. The island was discovered in 1471 by the Portuguese, who exchanged it with Spain for an island off the coast of Brazil. In 1827 it was taken into the possession of England by consent of Spain. The position of this island opposite the Cameroons river and the Amboises makes it of present value in putting down the slave trade, and when this disgraceful traffic shall be suppressed, and the inhabitants of the opposite shores shall have applied themselves to commercial pursuits, Fernando Po will acquire a greater value as a trading station, where Europeans may reside with less danger to life than in other spots on the western

coast of Africa. At this time the only white inhabitants are, the agent of the West African Company, a surgeon, and a German settler. The black population is variously estimated at from 3000 to 9000. Part of these are from Old Calabar, Bonny, the Cameroons, and the Gold Coast, together with some Kroomen. The English settlement, Clarence Town, stands on a headland 150 feet above the sea, which forms the entrance to Maidstone Bay, a small but tolerably secure harbour on the north side of the island.

CHAPTER VI.

BRITISH AMERICA.

CANADA : Population, Lower Canada—Increase by Immigration—Population of Upper Canada—Imports and Exports—Shipping—Ship-building—Fisheries—Agriculture—Manufactures—Mills—Internal Navigation. **NEW BRUNSWICK** : Area—Population—Imports and Exports—Shipping—Ship-building. **NOVA SCOTIA** : Population—Inequality in the Numbers of the two Sexes—Imports and Exports—Shipping—Ship-building—Fisheries—Harbours—Live Stock. **CAPE BRETON** : Population—Imports and Exports—Coals—Ship-building. **PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND** : Population—Imports and Exports—Tenure of Land—Stock—Ship-building. **NEWFOUNDLAND** : Area—Fisheries—Population—Imports and Exports—Shipping—Ship-building. **HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORY** : Boundaries—Extent. **BERMUDAS** : Population—Imports and Exports—Ship-building—Shipping.

THE dependencies of England in North America, exclusive of such of the West India islands as form part of that division of the world, are,—

The Province of Canada—Upper and Lower.

„ New Brunswick.

„ Nova Scotia and the Island of Cape Breton.

Prince Edward's Island.

Newfoundland.

The North-west or Hudson's Bay Territory.

The Bermudas.

The capture of Quebec by General Wolfe, in September, 1759, brought the province of Canada under the dominion of England, in whose possession it has since continued without interruption. This important possession is bounded on the east by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by the Hudson's Bay terri-

tory, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, and on the south by the United States of America. It lies between 42° and 53° north latitude, and between 64° and 143° west longitude. It is usually considered, however, that the western extremity of the province is Goose Lake, near Fort William, on Lake Superior, in $90^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude. The length of Canada, thus limited, from east to west, is about 1000 miles, and its average breadth from north to south 300 miles, so that its area is 300,000 square miles, or two and a half times that of Great Britain and Ireland.

Upper and Lower Canada contained—

270,718 inhabitants in	1806
333,250	„ 1816
580,450	„ 1824

The population of the four districts of Lower Canada in 1831 was,—

Quebec . . .	137,126
Montreal . . .	284,650
Three Rivers . .	70,157
Gaspé . . .	9,505
Total	501,438

The increase in the numbers of the people by natural means is rapid. The difference between the births and deaths in the six years from 1831 to 1836 is equal to an average annual increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But this increase is importantly assisted by immigration. In the same six years the number of emigrants from the United Kingdom who landed at Quebec and Montreal was 194,936. The greater part of these went forward to the upper province, and some of them probably crossed over to the United States; but on the other hand, a number, probably greater than those, of British emigrants who landed at ports in the United States, proceeded onward to Canada. During the six years 1831 to 1836, the number who

	Ships.	Tons.
Steam-vessels—under 50 tons	1	47
„ above 50 tons	8	983
	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 1,030
Total	<hr/> 470	<hr/> 49,931

The fisheries for cod, herrings, mackerel, and salmon, carried on from Lower Canada, furnish, after supplying the inhabitants of the province, a yearly export, chiefly to our West India colonies, to the value of 50,000*l.* to 80,000*l.*

Agriculture must necessarily, for many years to come, engage the chief part of the attention of the Canadian population, and if even the assumed necessity for emigration thither from the parent country should cease, we shall continue to find customers among them for our cheap manufactures, although the commonest articles of clothing and household utensils have long been produced in their cottages. It was found that in 1830 there were 13,400 domestic looms in Lower Canada, estimated to produce about 1,400,000 yards of coarse woollen cloth, 1,000,000 yards of common flannel, and 1,350,000 yards of linen. There were at the same time in that division of the province 90 carding and 97 fulling mills, 3 paper mills, 395 grist mills, and 737 saw mills, many whisky distilleries, and seven iron foundries. Sugar is very generally made for use by families from the juice of the maple-tree. In Upper Canada, in 1834, the weaving of woollen cloth was a common occupation in the cottages; there were numerous distilleries, breweries, tanneries, fulling mills, and carding mills; the number of grist mills was 551, and of saw mills 843.

The growth of this province has been, and will continue

to be, greatly stimulated by the advantage of easy communication which is offered through the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the magnificent chain of lakes connected with that noble river. In aid of this natural advantage some costly works have been completed, partly by private enterprise, and partly at the expense of England. The most important of these works, the Rideau Canal, cost this country a million of money; it is 135 miles long, beginning at Kingston, on Lake Ontario, and ending at the foot of the Chaudière falls in the Ottawa river.

The province of New Brunswick, which formerly comprised part of Nova Scotia, is bounded on the north by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the river Ristigouche; on the south by the Bay of Fundy and Chignecto Bay; on the east by Northumberland Strait and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and on the west by the state of Maine.

The area of the province in square miles is 25,324.

The population was,—

In 1806 about	35,000
1816 „	56,000
1824 „	78,000

The inhabitants, in 1834, were found to consist of—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites . .	61,756	56,078	117,834
Free blacks .	757	866	1,623
Total	<u>62,513</u>	<u>56,944</u>	<u>119,457</u>

During the five years from 1835 to 1839, besides the natural increase of the inhabitants, there were added to their numbers 18,957 emigrants, and it is probable that at this time the province contains a population of 160,000 souls.

The trade of New Brunswick in each year from 1832 to 1839, was to the following amount :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1832.	£531,875	£471,527
1833	549,215	469,464
1834	567,719	491,301
1835.	621,511	577,209
1836	863,783	547,720
1837	730,563	588,397
1838	720,042	656,052
1839	1,011,546	690,386

The value of imports during those eight years exceeded that of the exports by about 1,100,000*l.*, the greater part of which sum was probably conveyed to the province by emigrants from the parent country, together with much other property not noticed by the custom-houses.

The greatest part of the exports of the province consists of timber and fish, with small quantities of grain. The value of those articles exported in the foregoing eight years was,—

Years.	Lumber.	Fish.	Corn, &c.
1832.	£384,900	£31,130	£5,071
1833	371,479	25,124	5,786
1834	417,773	26,395	2,531
1835.	498,789	25,102	1,709
1836	475,431	25,295	1,879
1837	476,670	30,550	2,630
1838	568,857	21,115	1,527
1839	610,380	24,610	3,975

The shipping inwards and outwards during the years 1833 to 1839 were,—

Years.	ENTERS.									
	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign Countries.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1833	452	129,089	1,615	105,775	829	68,568	6	1,460	2,902	304,892
1834	472	137,796	1,577	92,280	562	46,537	4	868	2,615	277,581
1835	637	192,555	1,712	86,892	615	45,852	15	2,589	2,979	328,886
1836	512	157,862	1,919	118,394	543	56,626	19	4,178	3,002	337,060
1837	455	156,519	1,621	108,514	421	52,614	22	4,868	2,519	322,576
1838	567	207,907	1,878	127,648	398	38,601	26	8,703	2,874	382,859
1839	578	208,712	1,923	118,176	944	64,053	37	8,181	3,482	399,129

CLEARED OUTWARDS.										
1833	613	183,121	1,565	102,602	625	29,299	3	428	2,906	316,306
1834	664	189,857	1,453	91,903	318	19,018	1	86	2,326	300,864
1835	816	242,695	1,398	79,983	287	22,077	2	166	2,493	341,851
1836	688	219,259	1,789	108,435	318	18,670	6	671	2,801	347,033
1837	638	224,238	1,534	94,262	361	18,244	8	1,231	2,442	337,975
1838	762	266,666	1,835	109,234	209	18,646	68	4,760	2,924	399,306
1839	826	290,923	1,899	118,800	798	33,688	4	638	3,527	444,051

Ship-building is a more important branch of industry in New Brunswick than it is in Canada. During each of the ten years from 1832 to 1841 there were built and registered in the province the following number of ships :—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	68	13,682	1837	94	24,957
1833	86	15,450	1838	116	26,931
1834	87	21,803	1839	162	43,091
1835	93	25,309	1840	156	55,618
1836	94	27,712	1841	116	45,555

The number and tonnage of sailing and steam vessels that belonged to the various ports of the province at the end of 1841 were,—

	Ships.	Tons.
Sailing-vessels under 50 tons	335	8,508
„ above 50 tons	350	106,370
	685	114,878
Steam-vessels above 50 tons	11	1,362
Total	696	116,240

A considerable part of the shipping built in this and the other provinces of British America are sold in England after conveying thither their first cargo, and their value, which does not enter into our custom-house accounts, must be considered in estimating the amount of their exports.

By far the largest part of the surface of this province is still in a state of nature ; nearly three-fourths remain still ungranted in the hands of government. The face of the country is intersected by numerous rivers, affording cheap and ready communication during the open season between every part of the province, and the climate is in a high degree healthy. These circumstances point it out as a favourable field for emigration.

The peninsula of Nova Scotia is joined to the continent of North America by an isthmus eleven miles wide, which unites the province with New Brunswick. It is bounded on the west by the Bay of Fundy, on the north by the Gut of Canso, which separates it from the island of Cape Breton, on the south and on the east by the Atlantic. The length of Nova Scotia from east to west is 280 miles, and its mean breadth about 60 miles.

From an early period England claimed the sovereignty of Nova Scotia, including New Brunswick, by right of its discovery by Sebastian Cabot. Early in the seventeenth century an attempt was made to form a settlement on the peninsula by the French, who were driven away by the English settlers of Virginia, but it was some time before any effectual steps were taken to colonize it, and in 1667 it was ceded to France by the treaty of Buda. In 1710 it was captured by a British force, and by the treaty of 1713 was fully ceded to Great Britain: it has since remained subject to the British crown.

The population of this province in 1806 was 65,000 ;

The fisheries of Nova Scotia are of the greatest importance to its prosperity, and their produce furnishes the most valuable article of its export trade. The great bulk of the fish taken is cod; but herrings, mackerel, and salmon are also found, and cured for exportation. The value of fish, grain, and lumber, exported from the province in each year from 1832 to 1839 was,—

Years.	Fish.	Corn, &c.	Lumber.
1832	£137,744	£12,447	£98,888
1833	149,046	25,652	82,142
1834	127,889	12,672	122,898
1835	155,801	51,660	115,148
1836	157,204	18,980	115,620
1837	181,961	11,768	143,736
1838	205,840	15,310	137,716
1839	233,075	30,180	143,138

The province of Nova Scotia is invaluable to this country from the number and commodious nature of its harbours. The port of Halifax, the capital of the province, is entered by a creek sixteen miles long, which ends in a sheet of water the area of which is ten square miles, and in which 1000 ships can ride in safety. Its entrance is effectually protected by forts erected on small islands. Margaret's Bay, also on the Atlantic coast, is two miles wide at the entrance, but widens to six miles, and is fourteen miles long. At the south-western end of the province is St. Mary's Bay, four to ten miles broad and thirty-five miles long. The Annapolis Basin is entered by the Gut of Digby in the Bay of Fundy, and is one of the most beautiful harbours in America, extending ten miles parallel to the Bay of Fundy, with a width varying from one to four miles. The Basin of Mines, lying at the extremity of the Bay of Fundy, is entered through a strait three miles wide, and within enlarges to from eight to sixteen miles, extending about fifty miles

to the head of Cobequid Bay. Cumberland Basin, which divides the province from New Brunswick, forms also a secure and capacious harbour. Pictou Harbour has a bar at its mouth, but within is safe and capacious, and there are other smaller harbours along the north shore in Northumberland Strait, which elsewhere would be deemed of importance.

A considerable number of live stock are reared in the province. At the census of 1827 there were found,—

14,074 horses.

127,642 horned cattle.

197,375 sheep.

80,223 swine.

The number of acres in crop in the same year was 327,676, and of uncultivated land there were 9,668,801 acres. Some coal-mines are worked in the district of Pictou.

The island of Cape Breton is a dependency of Nova Scotia, from which province it is divided by the Gut of Canso and St. George's Bay. It is bounded on the north and north-west by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the south and east by the Atlantic, and on the west by St. George's Bay and Northumberland Strait. Its length from north-east to south-west is about 100 miles, and its greatest breadth is 80 miles. The population, which in 1806 was 2513, in 1816, about 7000, and in 1824 about 14,000, consisted in 1827 of 9345 males, and 9265 females—together, 18,700 souls; at this time the island is computed to contain about 27,000 inhabitants.

The custom-house accounts do not furnish an accurate statement of the trade of this island, a great part of its imports being included in the accounts of Nova Scotia. The value not thus included during the eight years 1832 to 1839 was as follows :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1832	£18,072	£31,891
1833	10,324	28,608
1834	10,501	22,188
1835	11,666	31,039
1836	8,809	34,460
1837	7,591	41,337
1838	8,350	33,546
1839	8,027	42,859

The exports consist principally of fish and coals. Of this mineral there are mines at Sydney, Bridgeport, and Little Bras d'Or. The quantity exported in each of the above years was,—

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1832	21,855	1836	27,759
1833	15,680	1837	32,701
1834	8,374	1838	23,550
1835	9,955	1839	38,199

Ship-building is carried on in the island. There were built and registered in each of the ten years 1832 to 1841 the following number of vessels :—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	18	1,197	1837	17	1,067
1833	22	1,503	1838	27	1,445
1834	19	1,111	1839	25	1,233
1835	17	1,354	1840	40	2,352
1836	23	1,613	1841	23	2,247

There were belonging to the island at the end of 1841,—

	Ships.	Tons.
Vessels under 50 tons	22	5,462
„ above 50 tons	18	3,969
Total . .	40	9,431

Prince Edward's Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is bounded on the south and the west by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, on the east by the island of Cape

Breton, and on the north by the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It lies between 46° and $47^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, and between 62° and 65° west longitude. Its extreme length is 140 miles, and its mean breadth is about 15 miles. Its area is 2134 square miles.

This island was discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, but no settlement was made upon it by the English, and it was for some time occupied by the French as a fishing station. It was first taken into their possession by the English in 1758, and has since remained subject to this country.

The population in 1806 was 9676; in 1816 it had increased to 16,000; in 1827 it consisted of 23,473 (12,211 males, and 11,262 females). In 1841 a census was taken, according to which the inhabitants were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Under 16 years of age	11,580	11,186	22,766
From 16 to 45 years	9,456	9,324	18,780
From 45 to 60 years	1,945	1,726	3,671
Above 60 years of age	1,082	734	1,816
Total . .	24,063	22,970	47,033

Among this population there were,—

Deaf and dumb persons . . .	30
Blind	29
Insane	78

The external trade of the island is very small. The value of imports and exports in each of the years 1832 to 1839 was as under:—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1832	£1,015	£8,267	1836	£1,394	£11,610
1833	1,693	3,956	1837	1,946	7,271
1834	2,339	10,693	1838	1,170	11,918
1835	1,174	9,029	1839	1,626	13,628

The progress of this island in improvement has been

checked by an extraordinary proceeding of the English government, which in 1767 granted very nearly the whole surface by a gratuitous kind of lottery, the holders of the tickets to which benefits were attached being bound to pay a few shillings per annum for each 100 acres, and to settle their lands in the proportion of one settler for every 200 acres within ten years from the date of the grant. These conditions have been mainly evaded; the grantees were for the most part permanently absent from the island, and settlers have been unwilling to embark their capital and industry in the improvement of property which they could not make their own, while on the neighbouring continent there was an abundance of land to be had in fee simple and on easy terms.

There are comparatively but few immigrants now resident on the island. Of the 47,033 persons living there in 1841, there were 31,561, or about two-thirds, who were born in the colony, and who for the most part were descended from Scotchmen.

The soil is fertile, and the climate good and healthy; the island is in a great measure free from the fogs which visit the shores of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia.

The great bulk of the people are agriculturists and stock farmers. There were on the island in 1841,—

9,861 horses;
41,914 neat cattle;
73,643 sheep; and
35,521 swine;

10 breweries and distilleries; 87 grist mills; 11 carding mills;
and 83 saw-mills.

The number of ships built and registered in the island during each of the ten years from 1832 to 1841 was as follows :—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	42	4,094	1837	44	6,715
1833	44	5,000	1838	46	7,099
1834	34	4,315	1839	69	9,986
1835	40	4,888	1840	77	11,098
1836	35	4,347	1841	63	10,797

The number and tonnage of shipping belonging to the island at the end of 1841 were,—

	Ships.	Tons.
Under 50 tons . . .	112	3,106
Above 50 tons . . .	80	12,967
Total . . .	192	16,073

The island of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, lies between $46^{\circ} 40'$ and $50^{\circ} 37'$ north latitude, and between $52^{\circ} 40'$ and $59^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude. Its extreme length from north to south is about 400 miles, and its greatest breadth is about 300 miles. Its area is about 35,000 square miles.

The value of this possession has been confined to the fisheries carried on upon the “banks” in its neighbourhood. We know little or nothing of the interior of the country, the settlements being limited to a few stations on the shores having reference solely to the business connected with the taking and curing of fish. Some attempts at forming such settlements were made between 1585 and 1614, but the first permanent colony was established in 1623 by Lord Baltimore, who proceeded to the island in person. Another colony followed in 1633, under the auspices of Lord Falkland, and in 1654 Sir David Kirk went there with a few settlers, authorized by a grant from the parliament. Early in the eighteenth century the island was taken by the French, but by the treaty of Utrecht it reverted to England, and has since remained in our possession.

The population in 1806 was 26,505; in 1816 it was

52,672; and in 1824 had rather diminished, having been 31,746 males, and 20,411 females,—together, 52,157. In 1832 it contained 59,280 inhabitants. In 1836, the latest account, there were in the island 42,462 males, and 32,238 females,—together, 74,705.

The value of the import and export trade of the colony in each year from 1832 to 1839 was, —

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1832	£573,872	£594,486	1836	£579,799	£787,099
1833	595,909	715,096	1837	711,155	863,907
1834	556,087	663,264	1838	589,384	727,559
1835	576,800	737,022	1839	624,166	818,110

The greater part of the imported articles consist of various kinds of provision, clothing, salt, and fishing-tackle; and nearly the whole of the exports consist of fish, fish-oil, and seal skins.

The shipping that arrived at and left the colony in each year from 1832 to 1839 was as follows:—

Years.	INWARDS.									
	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign Countries.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	265	36,067	388	29,454	56	6,104	149	20,719	858	92,344
1833	251	35,171	417	33,012	73	8,787	151	18,872	892	95,842
1834	271	39,365	351	30,845	52	6,733	226	30,349	900	107,282
1835	211	30,821	341	31,983	50	5,828	249	34,601	851	103,233
1836	186	26,646	324	29,718	39	5,120	262	36,746	800	98,830
1837	191	26,553	419	35,936	22	2,754	293	41,714	925	106,557
1838	138	17,706	262	20,298	24	2,681	303	33,937	817	94,682
1839	163	19,390	356	28,064	48	5,201	294	39,000	861	91,661
	OUTWARDS.									
	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign Countries.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	167	12,128	424	23,749	23	2,727	195	24,700	809	68,304
1833	151	18,515	444	41,544	29	3,515	221	27,386	845	90,960
1834	223	16,500	443	24,146	25	2,871	270	41,652	971	84,569
1835	156	20,040	402	26,272	26	3,448	249	32,110	833	101,870
1836	145	18,546	370	42,144	18	2,157	216	32,710	785	95,537
1837	153	17,630	474	30,333	9	1,239	249	32,725	890	102,927
1838	150	16,719	437	49,763	9	732	236	27,521	832	94,795
1839	136	15,286	419	40,217	20	1,962	259	32,830	834	90,295

A considerable number of small vessels are built in the island. The number and tonnage so constructed in each of the ten years 1832 to 1841 were as follows:—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	34	2,767	1837	25	1,164
1833	35	3,029	1838	31	1,541
1834	26	1,546	1839	17	921
1835	50	2,428	1840	30	1,698
1836	22	1,232	1841	35	1,332

The number of vessels registered in and belonging to the island at the end of 1841 were,—

	Ships.	Tons.
Sailing-vessels—under 50 tons	310	10,103
„ above 50 tons	415	34,273
Total . . .	725	44,376

The Hudson's Bay territory is a tract of country extending between 49° and 70° north latitude, and from Cape Charles in Labrador (near 55° west longitude) to the Rocky Mountains and the mouth of the Mackenzie river (in 135° west longitude). This territory is so little known that its area cannot be given, but it is said certainly to exceed 2,000,000 square miles, and probably not to fall much short of 3,000,000 square miles.

The description of this immense tract belongs to the province of the geographer, and would be out of place in this volume. The only purpose to which it is applied is that of hunting-ground for the Hudson's Bay Company, through whose instrumentality the markets of the world are yearly supplied with the most valuable furs.

The Bermudas, or Somers' Islands, is a numerous group, of which only five are of any importance, viz., St. George, St. David, Long Island, Somerset, and Ireland. They are situated in the North Atlantic, 580 miles east of Cape Hatteras in North America. The western point

of the group is in $32^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude, and $64^{\circ} 50'$ west longitude. The area of the inhabited islands is 12,424 acres, or about 20 square miles. Their population in 1806 consisted of 10,000 persons, of whom nearly one-half were slaves ; in 1824 the numbers were,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites . . .	1,897	2,751	4,648
Free coloured	312	410	722
Slaves . . .	2,620	2,622	5,242
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total. . .	4,829	5,783	10,612

In 1839 the population consisted of,—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whites . . .	1,638	2,428	4,066
Coloured and black	2,086	2,781	4,867
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total. . .	3,724	5,209	8,933

The climate is exceedingly healthy, and an increase of the population by natural causes would certainly be experienced. The diminished number of inhabitants must therefore be owing to emigration, which, considering the limited nature of the employments offered in the islands, must be resorted to by the natives.

The value of articles imported into and exported from the Bermudas in each year from 1832 to 1839 was as follows :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1832	£102,742	£13,784	1836	£116,067	£21,967
1833	86,145	13,522	1837	105,794	25,945
1834	77,925	8,418	1838	113,589	14,899
1835	100,783	21,353	1839	124,884	21,258

The imports consist of a great variety of British manufactures, with some grain and flour, and miscellaneous articles left by vessels putting in for repairs. The islands afford nothing of their own produce for exportation except arrow-root, the value of which is small, and ships, the

building of which was formerly more successfully followed than at present. The number and tonnage of vessels built in each of the years from 1832 to 1839 were as follows :—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	10	804	1836	8	631
1833	3	200	1837	8	514
1834	no return		1838	8	850
1835	6	393	1839	8	523

The difference between the value of goods imported and those exported is provided for by the government expenditure on account of convicts, about 1000 of whom have for some years been employed in constructing fortifications on the islands.

The shipping that entered and cleared from these islands in each of the years from 1832 to 1839 was as follows :—

Years.	INWARDS.									
	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		United States.		Foreign Countries.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	8	2,032	76	6,509	65	6,995	6	708	155	16,257
1833	8	2,159	76	6,261	57	5,805	4	459	145	14,674
1834	7	1,509	74	5,657	53	5,427	1	51	135	12,637
1835	9	2,233	71	6,312	50	5,098	16	2,658	146	15,301
1836	10	2,616	62	4,690	48	4,69	4	720	124	12,723
1837	8	1,804	53	3,867	45	4,567	16	1,413	122	11,651
1838	11	3,148	51	3,419	47	5,681	16	946	125	13,194
1839	8	1,956	45	3,112	42	4,732	25	2,816	120	12,616
OUTWARDS.										
1832	..	..	102	9,418	49	5,501	13	1,529	163	16,441
1833	2	364	84	7,253	50	5,874	6	648	143	14,137
1834	1	58	83	7,250	49	4,837	9	1,101	142	13,252
1835	10	1,960	81	7,227	43	4,509	14	1,408	148	15,044
1836	9	1,661	68	6,063	49	5,129	..	..	126	12,553
1837	4	552	62	4,879	40	4,063	19	1,507	125	11,001
1838	3	316	62	5,408	47	4,948	22	2,427	134	13,099
1839	3	520	68	5,139	36	3,936	9	607	116	10,202

CHAPTER VII.

WEST INDIA ISLANDS AND SETTLEMENTS.

General Description—Names of Colonies—Population—Imports and Exports—Trade with the United Kingdom—Shipping—Productions—Slave Trade; its Abolition—Abolition of Slavery—Compensation to Slave-owners—Successful Result of the Measure—General List of the Colonies and Dependencies of England; the Date and Mode of Acquisition—Population—Forms of Government—Trade with the United Kingdom—Proportion which it bears to the whole Trade of the Kingdom—Colonial protective System; its injurious Consequences.

THE dependencies of England, known under the general title “West Indies,” comprise the islands of Antigua, Barbados, Barbuda, Anguilla, Dominica, Grenada and the Grenadines, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, Tortola, and the Virgin Islands and Jamaica; besides which there are the district of British Guiana on the continent of South America, and the settlement of Honduras in the province of Yucutan.

These colonies or plantations differ materially one from the other in their origin and natural features, yet in their relation to the parent country they bear so intimate a resemblance that it will be convenient to class them together, and to describe their trade and productions under one general designation, as indeed is always the case in our custom-house returns.

The different West India colonies now subject to the British crown are—

Name of Colony.	Date of Acquisition.	Name of Colony.	Date of Acquisition.
Antigua . . .	1632	Grenada . . .	1763
Barbados . . .	1625	The Grenadines . . .	1763
Barbuda . . .	1632	Montserrat . . .	1632
Anguilla . . .	1650	Nevis . . .	1628
Dominica . . .	1763	St. Christopher . . .	1623

Name of Colony.	Date of Acquisition.	Name of Colony.	Date of Acquisition.
St. Lucia . . .	1803	Jamaica . . .	1655
St. Vincent . . .	1763	The Bahama Islands.	1629
Tobago . . .	1763	British Guiana . .	1803
Trinidad . . .	1797	Honduras . . .	1670
Tortola and the Virgin Islands . . .	1666		

The geographical position of the islands in the above list is between 10° and $23^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., and between $59^{\circ} 30'$ and 79° W. long.; British Guiana lies between 4° and 8° N. lat., and between 57° and 60° W. long.; Honduras lies between $16^{\circ} 30'$ and $18^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., and between 88° and 89° W. long.

The population of each of these several colonies and settlements, according to the latest accounts, is as follows:—

	Date.	White.		Coloured.		Total.		Total.
		Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	
Antigua . . .	1832	1,140	840	15,541	17,891	16,681	18,731	35,412
Barbados . . .	1829	7,049	7,910	40,371	46,375	47,420	54,185	102,605
Barbuda . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,500
Anguilla . . .	1824	162	208	1,429	1,873	1,591	2,075	3,666
Dominica . . .	1833	382	336	8,476	9,465	8,858	9,801	18,660
Grenada & the Grenadines . . .	1837	1,840	1,964	8,271	8,919	10,111	10,883	20,994
Montserrat . . .	1836	140	149	3,239	3,591	3,379	3,740	7,119
Nevis . . .	1838	..	..	..	..	3,471	3,968	7,439
St. Christopher . . .	1838	4,952	5,463	5,739	6,308	10,691	11,791	22,482
St. Lucia . . .	1839	532	450	6,153	7,043	6,685	7,493	14,178
St. Vincent . . .	1831	1,301	..	25,821	..	..	..	27,122
Tobago . . .	1839	..	..	..	..	6,502	6,246	12,748
Trinidad . . .	1837	2,080	1,601	17,230	18,477	19,250	20,078	39,328
Tortola & the Virgin Islands . . .	1835	..	..	..	..	3,522	4,109	7,631
Jamaica . . .	1824	37,152	..	166,595	169,658	..	..	373,405
The Bahamas . . .	1839	..	..	..	..	11,539	11,509	23,048
Demerara* . . .	1832	2,006	..	71,877	..	..	..	74,883
Berbice* . . .	1833	431	139	10,915	10,057	11,345	10,196	21,541
Honduras . . .	1839	200	35	4,700	3,000	4,900	3,035	7,935
* British Guiana.								Total . . . 820,792

The total value of the imports and exports of each colony in the years 1832 to 1839, according to custom-house returns, was as follows:—

COLONIES.	1832		1833	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Antigua . .	148,830	169,244	170,334	183,285
Barbados . .	461,308	285,516	438,679	418,351
Dominica . .	35,570	141,306	38,421	119,528
Grenada . .	111,605	201,276	114,179	281,130
Jamaica . .	1,593,317	2,814,308	1,519,452	2,489,797
Montserrat . .	11,067	21,517	8,065	18,885
Nevis . . .	28,686	28,871	28,030	44,729
St. Christopher	71,981	101,148	71,703	102,378
St. Lucia . .	35,958	51,126	34,723	63,510
St. Vincent . .	154,274	255,343	126,763	283,170
Tobago . . .	56,399	118,450	54,731	106,589
Tortola . . .	5,932	33,058	10,006	31,105
Trinidad . .	229,697	235,657	287,453	268,446
Bahamas . .	73,807	68,156	107,399	76,614
Demerara . .	486,380	1,386,104	487,229	1,577,615
Berbice . . .	86,815	332,933	70,345	258,954
Total	£ 3,591,626	6,244,013	3,567,512	6,324,086

COLONIES.	1834		1835	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Antigua . .	176,076	371,376	201,339	236,861
Barbados . .	454,051	624,685	505,028	578,739
Dominica . .	36,858	110,362	50,056	45,624
Grenada . .	126,776	267,998	114,129	204,795
Jamaica . .	1,589,720	3,148,797	2,018,965	3,094,513
Montserrat . .	11,026	36,523	12,715	19,249
Nevis . . .	27,304	61,653	39,094	33,575
St. Christopher	88,214	137,963	110,337	120,141
St. Lucia . .	42,384	78,513	51,807	79,872
St. Vincent . .	138,337	307,251	130,559	326,678
Tobago . . .	50,446	106,773	58,705	104,274
Tortola . . .	4,756	39,985	9,338	23,215
Trinidad . .	252,518	380,707	315,850	370,361
Bahamas . .	142,021	92,802	125,424	108,928
Demerara . .	585,260	1,261,767	615,106	1,455,231
Berbice . . .	67,772	267,338	96,013	315,936
Total	£ 3,793,969	7,294,493	4,454,465	7,117,992

Colonies.	1836		1837	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Antigua . .	191,817	175,808	158,998	73,049
Barbados . .	615,503	636,853	■,047	787,344
Dominica . .	68,077	78,282	71,390	74,871
Grenada . .	147,315	201,080	130,709	204,822
Jamaica . .	2,108,606	3,315,670	1,956,540	2,827,833
Montserrat . .	9,219	19,069	9,542	7,775
Nevis . . .	32,511	34,885	27,183	12,203
St. Christopher	98,344	145,703	118,271	122,219
St. Lucia . .	60,344	89,040	■,741	74,185
St. Vincent . .	155,522	349,480	178,415	379,886
Tobago . . .	73,947	196,971	69,763	143,828
Tortola . . .	15,225	23,129	10,426	21,729
Trinidad . .	469,208	487,731	443,572	469,500
Bahamas . .	143,211	88,691	190,113	108,840
Demerara . .	770,839	1,595,137	799,900	1,326,308
Berbice . . .	140,738	499,042	157,483	371,436
Total	£5,100,426	7,916,577	5,036,093	7,006,629

Colonies.	1838		1839	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Antigua . .	196,059	378,337	233,336	353,709
Barbados . .	717,554	847,899	783,775	686,702
Dominica . .	50,472	120,021	44,275	87,466
Grenada . .	118,292	266,277	99,505	201,132
Jamaica . .	1,876,566	3,299,480	2,244,450	2,484,735
Montserrat . .	14,655	21,248	9,356	21,312
Nevis . . .	32,918	28,896	31,757	52,835
St. Christopher	95,130	180,161	143,867	185,626
St. Lucia . .	60,143	83,535	77,507	76,184
St. Vincent . .	170,008	339,025	180,246	299,325
Tobago . . .	76,283	139,171	72,418	150,557
Tortola . . .	10,510	13,161	6,200	15,029
Trinidad . .	408,532	491,199	465,824	358,945
Bahamas . .	154,484	81,825	132,906	93,844
Demerara . .	851,399	1,331,390	1,029,830	1,091,582
Berbice . . .	208,095	348,546	178,684	256,123
Total	£5,042,028	7,973,261	5,742,936	6,415,105

The declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported to the British West Indies in each of the fifteen years, 1827 to 1841, was :—

1827	£3,583,222	1832	£2,439,808	1837	£3,456,745
1828	3,289,704	1833	2,597,589	1838	3,393,441
1829	3,612,085	1834	2,680,024	1839	3,986,598
1830	2,838,448	1835	3,187,540	1840	3,574,970
1831	2,581,949	1836	3,786,453	1841	2,504,004

The value of the produce shipped from these colonies to the United Kingdom in each of the years 1832 to 1839, as computed by the colonial custom-houses, was—

1832	£5,020,146	1836	£6,675,424
1833	5,169,878	1837	5,947,596
1834	6,064,786	1838	6,871,138
1835	5,728,916	1839	5,424,614

The number and tonnage of shipping employed in the trade between the British West Indies and the United Kingdom in each of the twenty years, from 1822 to 1841, was as follows :—

Years.	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1822	839	232,426	743	208,099
1823	861	233,790	842	232,717
1824	899	244,971	848	238,097
1825	872	232,357	801	219,431
1826	891	243,448	907	251,852
1827	872	243,721	906	248,598
1828	1,013	272,800	1,022	270,495
1829	958	263,338	918	252,992
1830	911	253,872	868	240,664
1831	904	249,079	907	249,051
1832	828	229,117	803	226,105
1833	911	248,378	875	241,384
1834	918	246,605	900	246,609

Years.	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1835	878	235,179	862	232,864
1836	900	237,922	892	238,915
1837	855	226,468	913	244,546
1838	878	235,495	894	242,467
1839	748	196,715	848	219,652
1840	697	181,731	856	222,817
1841	677	174,975	805	211,536

The productions of these colonies are almost exclusively sugar, molasses, rum, coffee, and cocoa, and pimento from Jamaica. The products of the sugar-cane are obtained from all. Coffee is chiefly grown in Jamaica, Dominica, and Guiana; and cocoa, the growth of British colonies, is almost exclusively yielded by Trinidad and Grenada. The quantities of those important articles of commerce imported from our West India colonies into the United Kingdom in each year, from 1827 to 1841, were—

Years.	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cocoa.	Pimento.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Gallons.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1827	3,551,218	399,441	5,626,174	29,419,698	549,688	2,225,943
1828	4,313,636	508,095	6,307,294	29,987,078	454,999	2,247,893
1829	4,152,614	390,626	6,994,759	26,911,785	684,917	2,585,694
1830	3,912,628	249,420	6,752,799	27,460,421	711,923	3,489,318
1831	4,103,800	323,306	7,844,157	20,030,802	1,491,947	1,801,355
1832	3,773,456	553,063	4,713,803	24,673,920	518,245	1,366,183
1833	3,645,804	686,793	5,109,975	9,008,875	2,134,809	4,770,255
1834	3,943,976	650,366	6,112,390	22,081,480	1,360,325	1,389,409
1835	3,524,209	507,495	5,453,317	14,855,470	439,447	2,536,353
1836	3,601,791	526,535	4,868,109	18,903,426	1,612,304	3,230,978
1837	3,306,775	575,657	4,418,349	16,577,883	1,847,145	2,026,129
1838	3,520,676	638,007	4,641,210	17,588,635	2,149,637	802,974
1839	2,824,372	474,307	4,091,820	11,485,675	959,641	1,071,911
1840	2,244,764	421,141	3,780,979	12,797,639	2,374,301	990,068
1841	2,151,217	430,221	2,770,161	9,927,639	2,990,298	797,758

It appears from the custom-house statements already given that a great part of the value of the yearly harvests in these colonies, and which are shipped to the United Kingdom, remains here, and constitutes an addition to our capital. The balance thus remaining after the ship-

ments of stores and manufactures are provided for, amounts to between two and three millions sterling per annum, and forms the revenues of proprietors and mortgagees resident in this country.

For a long series of years the British parliament gave encouragement to the African slave-trade, and it required a struggle of twenty years on the part of a band of zealous philanthropists, at the head of whom were the venerable Thomas Clarkson and the late Mr. Wilberforce, sufficiently to arouse the land to the enormity of this national sin, and to procure the passing of a law for its abolition. In May, 1787, the first committee was formed for the purpose of procuring and publishing information tending to the abolition of the African slave-trade. This self-constituted body consisted of Clarkson, Granville Sharp, Philip Sansom, and nine more members of the Society of Friends. In the following year numerous petitions against the continuance of the traffic were presented to Parliament; motion after motion was made upon the subject in the House of Commons, where year after year the minister, who seemed to command overwhelming majorities in favour of every other measure advocated by him, was out-voted in his advocacy of the cause of humanity; and it was reserved for the administration that succeeded to office on the death of Mr. Pitt to carry through parliament a bill for abolishing the African slave-trade. The perfecting of this measure by giving to it the royal assent was literally the last parliamentary act of Lord Grenville's administration, their seals of office having been delivered up to the king on the very same day in which this act was made the law of the land.

It was at that time confidently predicted by those who had resisted this measure that it must insure the ruin of

our sugar colonies. May we not draw from the signal failure of this prediction a well-grounded hope that the further measure of justice to the negro perfected by the abolition of slavery itself throughout the British dominions on the 1st of August, 1838, will in the end prove as little productive of evil to those colonies as was the measure of 1807.

On the 28th of August, 1833, an Act was passed for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies. Under this Act the name of slave ceased on the 1st of August, 1834; those who previously stood in that relation becoming "apprenticed labourers" to the persons who had been entitled to their services as slaves. This period of apprenticeship was to continue in the case of household slaves until the 1st of August, 1838, but in the case of prædial labourers, comprising all usually employed in agriculture, the apprenticeship was to be continued until the 1st of August, 1840. So strongly, however, had the people of England become convinced of the sinfulness of holding their fellow-creatures in bondage, that even the modified condition of apprenticeship, although it had taken from the master all the more hateful attributes of ownership, was intolerable to them; and a degree of moral compulsion was used under which the colonial legislatures were induced to anticipate the period of perfect freedom, and the labouring population throughout our West India colonies were admitted to the full rights of citizenship on the 1st of August, 1838.

This glorious act of raising 770,000 human beings from a condition in which they were legally considered as chattels, and could be bought and sold as so many beasts of burden, to a state of equality before the law with their former owners, was bought for them at the

price of twenty millions sterling by the British nation, who thus gave unquestionable testimony to their feelings of genuine philanthropy, while they proved their sense of justice by compensating those who would otherwise have suffered individually for the expiation of a national sin.

The number of slaves in respect of whom their owners received compensation by means of this parliamentary grant of twenty millions was 770,280, of whom 35,742 belonged to the Cape of Good Hope, 4026 to Bermuda, and 66,613 to Mauritius. The remaining 663,899 were located in the several West India colonies. The number of slaves in each colony, with the average rates of compensation awarded to their former owners, and the amount of money thus distributed to the several colonies, were as follows:—

Colonies.	Number of Slaves.	Compensation Apportioned.			Total Amount.
		£.	s.	d.	
Antigua. . .	29,121	14	12	3	425,547
Bahamas . . .	10,086	12	14	4	128,296
Barbados . . .	83,150	20	13	8	1,719,980
Dominica . . .	14,175	19	48	9	275,547
Grenada. . . .	23,638	26	1	4	616,255
Guiana	82,824	51	17	1	4,294,989
Honduras . . .	1,901	53	6	9	101,399
Jamaica. . . .	311,070	19	15	4	6,149,937
Montserrat . .	6,401	16	3	7	103,556
Nevis	8,815	17	2	7	151,006
St. Christopher .	19,780	16	13	0	329,393
St. Lucia . . .	13,291	25	3	4	334,495
St. Vincent . .	22,266	26	10	7	590,779
Tobago	11,589	20	3	7	233,875
Trinidad . . .	20,657	50	1	1	1,033,992
Virgin Islands .	5,135	14	2	11	72,638
Total	663,899	24	18	11	16,561,684

A large part of this compensation-money was applied to the extinction of mortgage-debts owing to merchants in England, and was thus doubly advantageous to the planters, who were thereby freed from obligations extremely onerous, and which in various ways intercepted the benefits of ownership.

The different rates of compensation awarded to the slave-owners in the several colonies, and which varied from 12*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* per head in the Bahamas to 53*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* in the colony of Honduras, were proportioned to the average sale value of slaves in the various colonies during the years between 1822 and 1830, the compensation amounting to a small fraction below 45 per cent. of such sale value. It must not be imagined that the nation having thus paid only that proportion of the value, the former owners were losers of the remaining proportion of 55 per cent. During the continuance of slavery, if an owner sold the labourers from his plantation, he had no labour market whence to hire substitutes for the cultivation of his estate, and, practically, the value of land in the sugar colonies resided in the negroes attached to it; but when the general measure of emancipation was perfected this state of things was altogether changed; the former owners had among them the same number of labourers whose services they might engage, the difference to them being simply this, that with 45 per cent. of the former exchangeable value of the labourers in their pockets, and relieved from all necessity of providing for their wants in sickness, infirmity, and old age, they had to support them by means of daily wages paid to the able-bodied for services performed, the rate of which wages must be regulated as in every other country by the supply and the demand. It was a favourite plea with those who were opposed to the abolition of slavery that the

expenses of the planters in supporting the old and the infant, and the sickly, while they had the services only of those among the population who were healthy, and of ages during which labour was practicable, amounted to at least as much as the wages they would have to pay if the institution of slavery were abolished; and if there were any true foundation for such a plea, unquestionably the law which, in placing them in those altered circumstances, provided the employers with so large a fund out of which to pay their labourers, bestowed upon the former a very important boon.

It could not reasonably be expected that a great social revolution, such as the act of emancipation, brought about in these colonies, would pass unaccompanied by some inconvenience, and that time would not be required in order to the right adjustment of things between the different classes under such altered circumstances. The inconveniences which have arisen proved, however, much less formidable than the most sanguine friends to the measure of emancipation ventured to expect; and whatever those inconveniences were, they are fast disappearing. The conduct of the emancipated negroes has been most exemplary. The heaviest charge brought against them is that of demanding exorbitant rates of wages, a charge which calls for no word of refutation, since it must be out of their power to enforce it, or to insist upon any payment beyond that which circumstances render equitable. It is no more in their power than it is in the power of the farm-labourer or the hand-loom weaver in England to fix the rate of wages.

The very great difference in the sale-value of slaves observable in the different colonies previous to emancipation was chiefly the result of a law passed for the registration of slaves, and which forbade their transfer

from one colony to another,—a measure framed in a beneficent spirit, but the wisdom of which was very questionable. In the Bahamas, where the slave population was redundant, labour was necessarily cheap, and the value of those by whom it must be performed was low. In Guiana, on the other hand, and in Trinidad, where there was an abundance of fertile land to be reclaimed, the number of labourers was quite inadequate, and their value proportionally high. There would have been great advantage to the owners, and, under proper regulations, no hardship upon the negroes, to have removed them from places where their labour was not needed to colonies where it could be profitably employed. Since the measure of freedom has been consummated, such changes have been made to a great extent, and with mutual advantage to both classes.

The inhabitants of Antigua, in which island there was an abundance of labourers, so that their average sale-value between 1822 and 1830 was only 32*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* per head, quickly perceived the advantages they might draw from the measure of 1833, and by an act of the island legislature granted immediate emancipation to their slaves, without subjecting them to the intermediate step of apprenticeship. This island is most of all the West India colonies dependent upon the seasons for the abundance of its crops, since there is not in the whole of its area a stream or spring of water to be found. With this fact in view it will be seen from the following figures that its harvests have not fallen short by reason of this act of its legislature.

The quantities of sugar, molasses, and rum imported into the United Kingdom from Antigua in each of the ten years, from 1832 to 1841, were as follows:—

	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.
Years.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Galls.
1832	143,336	57,889	29,173
1833	129,519	67,181	34,932
1834	257,177	87,882	71,445
1835	174,818	75,985	67,051
1836	135,482	54,370	7,731
1837	62,170	26,993	11,538
1838	203,043	97,614	29,171
1839	222,689	104,034	55,958
1840	203,071	96,117	75,592
1841	144,103	75,551	14,906

The following statement exhibits at one view the names of our colonial possessions and dependencies, with the exception of our Indian empire, in every quarter of the globe ; the form of government established in each ; its population, and the value of its trade with the United Kingdom in 1839, the latest year for which the accounts are at present accessible. [See pages 434 and 435.]

The importance to the United Kingdom of the trade which it carries on with its colonies and dependencies in the four quarters of the globe, when compared with that which it carries on with the whole world, including those colonies, will be seen from the following statement, wherein is shown the real value of the products of British industry exported to the world at large, and of the part exported to our colonies, together with the number and tonnage of the shipping employed in prosecuting the trade, during each of the ten years, from 1832 to 1841:—

Years	Declared Value of British Manufactures Exported		Number and Tonnage of Shipping.									
	To all the World.		To all the World.				To British Colonies.					
	£.	s.	Inwards.		Outwards.		Inwards.		Outwards.		Inwards.	
			Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	36,450,594	10,140,919	17,918	2,825,959	17,683	2,880,492	5,442	1,009,317	5,423	1,021,899	5,423	1,021,899
1833	39,467,347	10,390,452	18,634	2,945,999	18,516	3,009,875	5,440	1,045,614	5,466	1,019,926	5,466	1,019,926
1834	41,649,191	9,521,555	19,797	3,152,168	19,482	3,149,132	5,813	1,081,277	5,635	1,081,328	5,635	1,081,328
1835	47,553,270	11,173,746	20,300	3,209,124	19,995	3,325,211	6,064	1,900,933	5,785	1,152,349	5,785	1,152,349
1836	53,468,572	14,079,642	21,478	3,494,372	21,855	3,566,697	5,899	1,179,381	5,714	1,110,650	5,714	1,110,650
1837	42,070,744	12,633,660	22,498	3,633,106	22,029	3,683,965	6,051	1,220,827	5,707	1,139,586	5,707	1,139,586
1838	50,060,970	13,581,866	24,796	3,997,033	24,497	4,079,049	6,334	1,269,391	5,951	1,284,611	5,951	1,284,611
1839	53,233,560	16,379,108	27,961	4,439,015	27,764	4,494,707	6,578	1,334,412	6,190	1,397,506	6,190	1,397,506
1840	51,406,430	17,318,855	28,081	4,667,795	28,073	4,781,872	6,825	1,426,172	6,663	1,495,957	6,663	1,495,957
1841	51,634,633	15,153,632	28,053	4,659,376	28,250	4,766,171	6,868	1,534,890	6,896	1,529,947	6,896	1,529,947

The centesimal proportions into which our foreign and colonial trade are divisible during the above years are,—

Years.	Merchandise.		Shipping.		Years.	Merchandise.		Shipping.	
	Foreign.	Colonial.	Foreign.	Colonial.		Foreign.	Colonial.	Foreign.	Colonial.
1833	79.18	27.82	64.41	26.59	1837	69.98	30.02	67.26	32.75
1834	73.81	26.19	65.30	34.70	1838	72.87	27.13	68.46	31.54
1835	77.14	22.86	65.67	34.33	1839	69.42	30.58	70.64	29.36
1836	76.41	23.59	64.54	35.46	1840	68.20	31.80	69.08	30.94
1838	73.62	26.38	66.72	33.28	1841	70.66	29.34	67.46	32.54

A STATEMENT of the Date and Mode of Acquisition, the Form of Government, and the the British Crown, together with the Amount of its Trade with the United

Name of Colony.	Date and Mode of its Acquisition, whether by Capture, by Cession, or by Settlement.	Population according to the latest Census or Return.	Form of Government, whether having Legislative Assemblies, or being governed directly by Orders from the Home Government.
EUROPE:—			
Gibraltar	Capture . . 1704	1834 15,008	Under home government
Malta and Gozo . .	Ditto . . . 1800	1839 121,928	Ditto
Ionian Islands . .	Cession . . . 1814	1840 223,349	Legislative bodies . .
Heligoland	Ditto 1814	About 2,000	Under home government
ASIA:—			
Ceylon	Capitulation . 1796	1835 1,241,825	Ditto
AUSTRALASIA:—			
New South Wales .	Settlement . 1787	1841 128,718	Governor and Legislative Council . . .
Van Diemen's Land .	Ditto 1803	1838 45,764	Ditto
Western Australia .	Ditto 1829	1839 2,154	Ditto
South Australia . .	Ditto 1836	1840 15,040	Ditto
New Zealand	Ditto 1839	Unknown.	. . . . .
AFRICA:—			
Mauritius	Capitulation . 1810	1839 135,197	Under home government
Cape of Good Hope .	Ditto 1806	1839 143,371	Ditto
Sierra Leone	Settlement . 1787	1839 39,133	Ditto, and Executive and Legislative Council .
Gambia	Ditto 1631	1839 4,495	Home government . .
Gold Coast	Ditto 1661	. . .	Ditto.
Fernando Po	Ditto 1827	. . .	Ditto.
AMERICA:—			
Lower Canada	Capitulation } 1759	1836 572,227	Legislative bodies . .
Upper Canada	and Cession } 1763	1839 407,696	Ditto
New Brunswick . . .	Settlement } Soon	1840 75,271	Ditto
Nova Scotia	Ditto } after	1838 178,237 {	Ditto
Cape Breton	Ditto } their		Ditto
Prince Edward's Island	Ditto } disco-		Ditto
Newfoundland	Ditto } very in	1841 47,033	Ditto
Antigua	Ditto 1632	1836 74,705	Ditto
Barbados	Ditto 1625	1832 35,412	Ditto
Dominica	Ditto 1625	1829 102,605	Ditto
Grenada	Cession . . . 1763	1833 18,660	Ditto
Jamaica	Ditto 1763	1837 20,994	Ditto
Montserrat	Capitulation . 1655	1824 373,405	Ditto
Nevis	Settlement . 1632	1836 7,119	Ditto
St. Christopher . . .	Ditto 1628	1838 7,434	Ditto
St. Lucia	Ditto 1623	1838 22,482	Ditto
St. Vincent	Capitulation . 1803	1839 14,179	Home government . .
Tobago	Cession . . . 1763	1831 27,122	Legislative bodies . .
Virgin Islands	Ditto 1763	1839 11,748	Ditto
Anguilla	Settlement . 1666	1835 7,731	Ditto
Trinidad	Ditto 1650	1824 3,666	Ditto
British Guiana . . .	Capitulation . 1797	1837 39,328	Home government . .
Bahamas	Ditto 1803	1833 96,424	Ditto and Legislative Council
Bermudas	Settlement . 1629	1839 23,048	Legislative bodies . .
Honduras	Ditto 1609	1839 8,933	Ditto
	Cession . . . 1670	1839 7,935	Home government and Local Magistrates.

lation, according to the latest Census, of each Colony or Foreign Possession of
dom, and the Shipping employed therein, in the year 1839.

TRADE WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM.					
Value of		Shipping.			
Imports.	Exports.	Inwards.		Outwards.	
£.	£.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1,170,702	No returns .	117	25,920	260	43,665
125,338	Ditto . . .	33	5,667	152	30,835
64,010	Ditto . . .	60	8,215	28	4,261
No returns.			No returns.		
cluded with the accounts of British India.					
,900,084	995,557	76	23,490	233	93,945
309,771	601,003	83	23,523	46	13,567
623,705	591,004	66	11,766	89	21,452
179,283	120,844	127	32,437	151	37,944
,440,249	1,758,609	2,148	709,846	1,843	606,436
,797,517	5,424,614	748	196,715	848	219,652

Occasion is sometimes taken by the advocates of a protective system to point out the actual and comparative magnitude of our colonial trade, in proof of the practical wisdom of their doctrine. The chief productions of our colonies are favoured in the home market by means of differential duties; and it is affirmed that by this means we carry on a larger export trade than we should do if a preference were not thus given to a part of our customers; an assertion which it would be difficult to prove.

Let us, in order to test the wisdom of this system of preferences, take what will be considered the most important article of colonial production, sugar, and inquire shortly what is the effect to the kingdom generally, and to the sugar colonies, of the virtual monopoly of the home market given to them by our tariff.

First, we are made to pay for the sugar consumed in the United Kingdom more than we need to pay by an amount exceeding the value of all the goods which we manufacture for the West India colonies; it will hardly be said that this is a profitable trade for us, whatever it may be for the colonies. It might be some consolation to us to know that the excessive price which we thus pay benefited in a proportionate degree those to whom it is paid. But is this so? If the millions of money for which we thus tax ourselves did go to swell the profits of the planters, how is it that this undue rate does not stimulate production, an effect which excessive profits never fail to have? It is neither wise, reasonable, nor just, that the people of England should, under any circumstances, be thus heavily taxed for the benefit of any class of our fellow-subjects, however respectable; but when we see that, notwithstanding the heavy burden we thus take upon ourselves, the planters are continually

lamenting over their ruined condition, what words can we find adequately to describe our folly?

Let us suppose that the differential duty upon sugar were abolished, and that we no longer had to pay a monopoly price for that which we use, and it is certain that our consumption must very greatly increase. To supply our wants we must have recourse to other markets, and in payment for our importations must send to the producers that alone which we have to offer, the products of our industry, our manufactures. The people of England would clearly be gainers by this change, since they would either have more sugar in return for an equal amount of labour; or they would retain more of the products of their toil to exchange elsewhere for other conveniences or luxuries.

Let us, secondly, inquire what the effect would be to the English sugar colonists if we thus placed them upon a footing of equality with the Brazils and Cuba. They would possibly grow less sugar, although that is very doubtful, since we might experience in this case, as in most other cases is experienced, the beneficial effect of competition in lessening the cost of production. But suppose this result were to happen, it could only be that they found some other employment for their land and labour that would be more beneficial, and this would be no hardship to them. Does any one suppose that the land in those prolific settlements would be left waste, or that the labourers would live in idleness?

It cannot be necessary to pursue further an inquiry which has been so frequently discussed in these pages. During the very few years that have elapsed since the first volume of this work was offered to the notice of the public, the cause of commercial freedom, which is the cause of human progress, has made more rapid strides

than its most sanguine disciple then dared to expect. The system of restrictions and preferences so stoutly advocated and maintained, and in support of which such signal party triumphs have been achieved, at length is drawing to its end. The hands even to which it looked for support have assisted towards its downfall, and, like all falling bodies, its descent will become more and more rapid until it shall cease to have existence.

ANALYTICAL INDEX

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